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*Fig. 1. J. B. WEENIX, The Thievish Cat  
New-York Historical Society*



*Fig. 2. J. B. WEENIX, Seaport (1649)  
Dutch National Art Trust*

## JAN BAPTIST WEENIX

By WOLFGANG STECHOW

NOTHING comprehensive has been written on Jan Baptist Weenix since Charles Blanc's charming essay, which forms a chapter of his unduly neglected *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles* (vol. I, 1860). This may not seem too surprising since his works are of uneven quality. On the other hand, we owe him a considerable number of very good paintings, and he was remarkably many-sided. His output includes Italian landscapes with seaports, genre scenes and animals, as well as still-lives and portraits. It is this very versatility which may have contributed to an underestimation of his artistic rank, since in the customary treatment of Dutch art according to subjects, his activity is apt to be broken up into fractions of seemingly small importance.

Concerning his life there has been greater confusion in recent literature than existed at the time of Blanc's writing. It has not been sufficiently realized that the account of his life which we owe to Arnold Houbraken is, admittedly contrary to expectation, completely reliable in all salient facts because that author, according to his own testimony, was personally informed by Weenix' son, the famous still-life painter Jan Weenix. I do not know of any main data furnished by Houbraken on Jan Baptist Weenix' career which have been disproved by documents, whereas some recent suggestions do not stand the test of a thorough scrutiny. However, research undertaken by the indefatigable Abraham Bredius did yield some additional information of interest.<sup>1</sup>

Jan Weenix—it is important to note that the name Baptist appears neither in documents nor in the artist's early signatures—was born at Amsterdam in 1621, the son of an architect Johannes (Jan) Weenix and Grietgen Heremans who died a widow in or before 1646. There were four children: Jan, Lijsbeth, Annetge, and Ermpie. Lijsbeth became the wife of the painter Barent Micker whose brother, Jan Micker (ca. 1598/99-1664), was Jan's first teacher in Amsterdam. Subsequent teachers of Weenix were, according to Houbraken, Abraham Bloemaert in Utrecht and Nicolaes Moeyaert in Amsterdam, with whom he stayed about two years. As early as 1639 he married Josina d'Hondecoeter, a daughter of the painter Gillis d'Hondecoeter, who was Weenix' senior by two years. They had two boys: Jan (Joannes), the famous painter, who was almost certainly born in 1642,<sup>2</sup> and Gillis. On October 30, 1642,

Weenix made his will in Amsterdam, prior to going to Italy. He embarked upon that journey in 1643 and stayed in the south for four years, mostly in Rome in the service of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphili who became Pope Innocent X in 1644 and in whose honor Weenix appears to have adopted his second Christian name. In the Netherlandish "Bent" in Rome he was nicknamed "Ratel" (Rattle) because of a defect of speech. On June 2, 1646, he was still in Rome. In 1647 he returned to Amsterdam where Bartholomeus van der Helst painted his portrait. His sojourn in Amsterdam must have been short, for in 1649 he was already elected a commissioner of the painters' College in Utrecht, together with Cornelis Poelemburgh and Jan Both. In 1653 he was in close contact with the art collector Baron van Wyttenhorst, as a painter and as an agent. In 1657 he moved to a mansion called the *Huys ter Mey* not far from Utrecht (near the village de Haar), where he died in 1660 at the age of thirty-nine. Bredius' tentative suggestion, often taken over by recent writers (without mentioning his doubts), that Weenix died at Deutecom "some time before 1663," must be rejected; a Jan Weninx to whom this applies was not demonstrably a painter, and there is no reason to substitute these data for Houbraken's. As Weenix' pupils, that author mentions his son Jan, his nephew Melchior d'Hondecoeter and his cousin(?) Nicolaes Berchem.

When the artist signed his will in 1642, he spelled his name "Johannes Weenincks." A year before he had inscribed a drawing "JWeeninx," a spelling often found in other documents of that time as well as later on. After his return from Italy, he invariably used the form "Gio(vanni) Batt(ist)a Weenix"; all seeming exceptions from this rule have proved to be highly suspicious.

There are signed works by him with dates ranging from 1641 to 1658 with almost every year represented. Unfortunately, the main exception concerns the years 1643-1646: the period of his Italian sojourn. The only works by Weenix which can be put down with absolute certainty as having been painted during those years are four enlarged copies from parts of a composition by David Teniers which, according to surviving documents, were made for Innocent X and are still to be seen in the Doria Pamphili collection in Rome.<sup>3</sup> One original composition by Weenix which can be assigned to that period with a good deal of confidence will be mentioned later. It must be assumed that others are still buried away in Italian collections under wrong names.

I propose to deal with Weenix' few authentic early works first, regardless of technique and subject, and then to consider his paintings after his return from

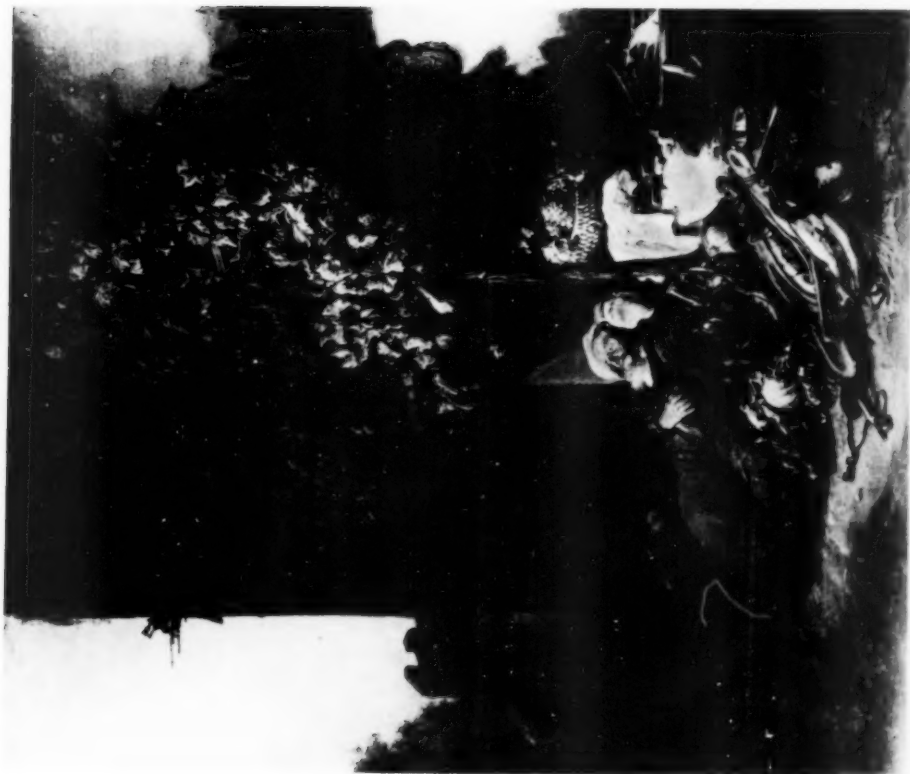


Fig. 3. J. B. WEENIX, *Tobit Blinded* (1642)  
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans

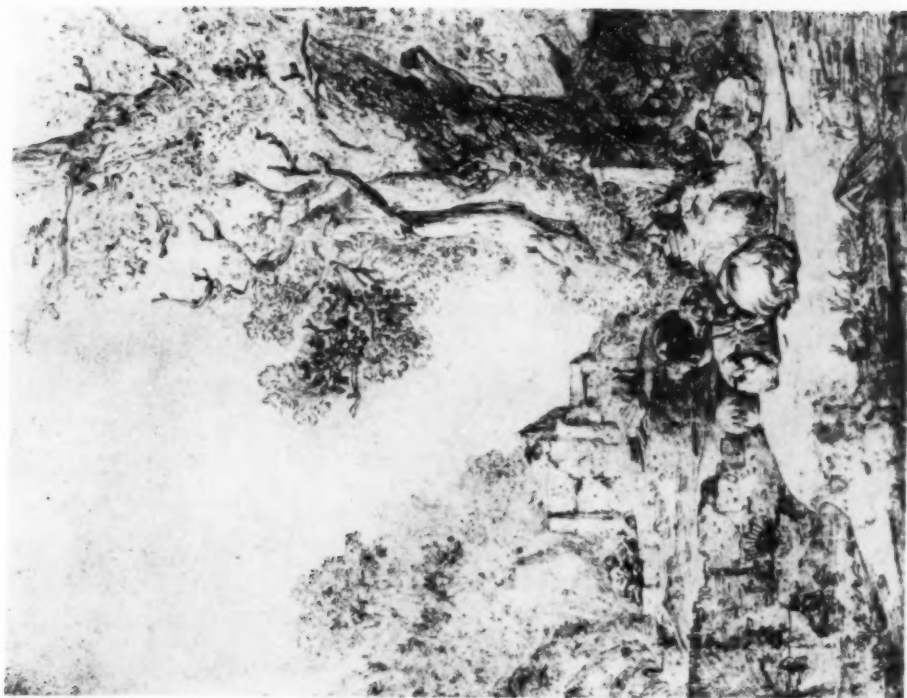


Fig. 4. J. B. WEENIX, *Landscape with Hermit*  
(drawing, 1641), Vienna, Albertina





*Fig. 5. J. B. WEENIX, Roman Campagna  
Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum*



*Fig. 6. J. B. WEENIX, Italian Peasants and Ruins  
Detroit Institute of Arts*

Italy according to these main groups: Seaports, other Italian landscapes with genre scenes, still-lives and portraits. On the whole, I shall restrict myself to outstanding works while laying some special emphasis on his paintings in American collections. There will be some notes on Weenix' pupils and followers, and, in conclusion, a few words on his drawings and etchings.

His earliest dated work is a drawing in the Albertina in Vienna which is signed "JWeenincx fesit 1641" (Fig. 4) (Schönbrunner-Meder's Albertina publication, no. 908). It has been copied in etching by Adam Bartsch, together with a companion piece which is similarly signed but not dated. The drawing, done in black chalk, represents an Italianate landscape with goats and sheep in the foreground, a shepherd resting near a classical herma, a huge cluster of trees in the right middleground and a hermit kneeling before a cross in the left background. The stylistic connection with Claes Moeyaert is so unmistakable in the motif, the treatment of the animals and of the foliage, that Houbraken's report concerning Weenix' apprenticeship with the Amsterdam pre-Rembrandist can be considered fully substantiated.<sup>4</sup> Houbraken even says that some early works by Weenix could not be distinguished from his teacher's.

This drawing alone would suffice to restore to Weenix a picture which seems to me to be the victim of one of the strangest of recent misattributions. I am speaking of the *Tobit* of the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam (Fig. 3). Up to about 1920 this picture was catalogued as a Jan Baptist Weenix on the grounds of a signature which is still plainly visible on the photograph here reproduced and which reads: "Jo. Weenincks 1642" (facsimile in the catalogue of 1892 and in Wurzbach's *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon*). The present attribution to Barent Fabritius, allegedly supported by an "indistinct" signature on a plank to the left, goes back to the late F. Schmidt-Degener but has been consistently opposed by various scholars including the late Abraham Bredius, who has charged that the genuine signature by Weenix was unwarrantably removed by the restorer Luitwieler.<sup>5</sup> It is indeed very hard to see how a signature which is so different from Weenix' usual one could ever have been forged on this picture. As mentioned before, the spelling "Weenincks" is found in the artist's will of exactly the same date (1642) but disappears after his return from Italy. More than that, the style of the picture is as firmly related to Weenix' Albertina drawing of 1641 as it is alien to Barent Fabritius. Also, the rendering of the distance on the left foreshadows the later work of Weenix, and the entire still-life and the vine show the closest resemblance to a painting which, although unsigned and undated, is in turn indissolubly connected with the

authentic *œuvre* of Weenix. I refer to the charming picture in the New-York Historical Society, the only authentic work among three attributed to the master in that collection (Fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> While the background points to its having been painted either in Italy or after the artist's return from the South and gives incontrovertible proof of his authorship, the still-life of vegetables in the foreground is an equally valid proof of his being the painter of the Rotterdam picture. That the New York picture could not have been done much later than 1647 is borne out not only by the minuteness in the treatment of the details in the foreground (which was to be replaced by broader brushstrokes later on) but also by the resemblance of the figures to a lovely *Interior with Mother and Child* of 1647, one of the artist's rare indoor scenes.<sup>7</sup> These figures are sufficiently related to the Tobit of the Rotterdam picture to make Weenix' authorship of that particular figure appear possible, although the treatment of the latter is admittedly somewhat cruder than the already more elegant and fluent modeling of the scolding girl and the laughing boy in the New York painting. Unless the Fabritius signature on the former work turns out to be genuine, it seems to me unnecessary to assume the participation of a different artist in the figure of Tobit. I cannot detect in it any closer resemblance to the style of Barent Fabritius than is indicated by the possibility that Weenix, too, underwent a certain Rembrandt influence—which is certainly to be expected of a sensitive artist working at Amsterdam in 1642.

Some of Weenix' paintings rendering Italian seaports belong with his most popular works. In them he exhibited a combination of fanciful classical ruins, picturesque figures, majestic ships in a distant haze and, generally, a colorful blending of the past and the present which has held great fascination for romantic minds of all periods but which can equally well be appreciated from the viewpoint of sheer *peinture*. To works of this group, Charles Blanc has dedicated a charming paragraph in which admiration and criticism are happily blended. In these paintings, of which there is a considerable number with dates from 1648 on, Weenix used a much broader brushstroke, which is nonetheless invariably precise, convincing and never as slipshod as it is in numerous copies and imitations. His colors are warm, luminous, rich but rarely mottled, and most often distributed on the canvas with a fine feeling for harmonious correspondence of related hues. An excellent example is the picture which was formerly in the Leuchtenberg Gallery and now belongs to the Dutch National Art Trust (*Stichting Nederlandsch Kunstbezit*) (Fig. 2). It is dated 1649 and bears Weenix' characteristic Italian signature.<sup>8</sup> Main color accents are formed



by the yellow-green-blue standard in the left foreground, the orange-red-gray tints of the horseman and the grayish-blue of his girl on the right, and the gray-pink-bluish haze of the background. The warm colors are skillfully echoed all over the rich staffage of the picture with taste, refinement and even some restraint.

What are the "outside" sources of this style? At the present state of research we will have to be content with pointing to a slightly older generation of Netherlandish masters working in Rome, rather than to any direct Italian antecedents. Among those, Pieter van Laer must still be counted as the great innovator, as he was at the time of his appearance in the city, where he stayed from 1626 to 1639. With his *Bambocciate* he exerted a very strong influence upon most of the other Netherlandish painters who lived in Rome during the thirties and forties, as well as upon a number of Italian artists such as Cerquozzi. Lack of dates prevents us from defining the exact relationships within this group. However, Weenix was clearly one of the first to abandon the dark Caravaggesque elements of Pieter van Laer's style and to turn to a lighter and gayer color gamut. A painting, which was only quite recently published, suggests that Weenix' style during his Roman sojourn was considerably influenced by Jan Asselijn, who was a member of the Netherlandish "Bent" at the same time. This picture, which is fully signed but not dated, was found by G. J. Hoogewerff in the E. Marinucci collection in Rome and assigned with great probability to Weenix' Roman period. It represents a seaport, embellished by a huge monument in the left foreground, which Hoogewerff has identified as a combination of Pietro Tacca's Monument to Ferdinand I de' Medici in the harbor of Leghorn (the fettered slaves) and reminiscences from Leonardo (horseman on rearing horse, closely related to the Budapest bronze statuette). The style of the painting differs from Weenix' later works of this kind and is sufficiently related to the productions of the older Dutch master to make Weenix seem dependent on him.<sup>9</sup> Direct Italian influences on his art are not improbable but cannot be clearly defined; with hesitation I mention the Castiglione-like dogs and the vaguely Italian flavor of some of his portraits. Entirely Italian, however, is the scenery of his paintings, although he uses it in a fanciful way. Classical ruins, colonnades, tombs, pyramids, obelisks, abound in his works, as do the rocks of the Rome-Naples coast and the light effects of the Campagna. To such elements the picture before us (Fig. 2) adds the *Dioscures* of Monte Cavallo. Into other paintings he introduced the *Medicean Vase*<sup>10</sup> and, in at least three cases,<sup>11</sup> Gianbologna's *Rape of the Sabine Women*—

rendered as a mutilated antique! In reproducing one of these pictures I turn from the *Seaports* to a closely related group of other Italian landscapes by the master. The painting in the Wadsworth Atheneum (Fig. 5)<sup>12</sup> shows this "antique" group, done in brilliant gray tones, in front of classical ruins on the left, and Monte Cavo, in typically rose-brown hues, in the right background. More brilliantly executed and more refined in its coloristic pattern is the picture *Italian Peasants and Ruins*, in Detroit (Fig. 6),<sup>13</sup> likewise undated but strongly reminiscent of the *Seaport* of 1649 already discussed. There is purple, red, blue, brown, and white in the woman, and orange-brown in the child; the flesh tones are rose with cool, white highlights. The dogs are masterpieces in broad gray brushstrokes. The colors in the group of peasants in the middle-ground are skillful echoes of the ones in the main group. The sky is very light; the ground in front, rose-brown with light gray shadows; the rocks, a very light grayish-blue. It is easily one of Weenix' most charming works; imaginative, carefree, just a little awkward in the poses and in composition but disarmingly so, and coloristically superb. I reproduce still another work of this kind (Fig. 7) because it is the last picture by Weenix known to me and because it enjoyed a great reputation during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the idyllic scene which passed through the famous collections of Randon de Boisset (1777), Poullain (1780), Robit (1801), and is now on the Dutch art market.<sup>14</sup> It is signed: "Gio Batta Weenix Ao. 1658, 10 M 20 [Oct. 20] in het huys ter My," thus verifying Houbraken's report concerning the last abode of the master near Utrecht. The detail illustrated here (Fig. 8) testifies to Weenix' supreme skill as an animal painter and assigns him a rank fully on the same level with Berchem at his very best.

Weenix' activity as a still-life painter was not so comprehensive but nonetheless quite important. Here, too, problems of derivation arise which are not easily solved, the less so as he seems to have employed two rather different manners simultaneously, one broad and decorative for larger canvases, one more minute and less brilliant for smaller ones. The former owes something to Flemish sources, possibly via the Amsterdam painter Matthys Bloem.<sup>15</sup> Dated examples of this kind are found in the Hannema-de Steurs collection in The Hague (1650?)<sup>16</sup> and in Würzburg (1652).<sup>17</sup> They both feature a dead swan and are added proof of W. R. Valentiner's judicious attribution to Weenix of the splendid picture in Detroit (Fig. 9).<sup>18</sup> This work is distinguished by the presence of a magnificent fruit still-life which foreshadows Chardin, and by the equally fine rendering of the turkey with its pearl-gray



*Fig. 7. J. B. WEENIX, Peasant Family in Roman Landscape (1658)  
Dutch Art Market*



*Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 7*



Fig. 9. J. B. WEENIX, *Still-Life with a Dead Swan*  
*Detroit Institute of Arts*



Fig. 10. J. B. WEENIX, *Still-Life with Deer*  
*Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



and bluish nuances, with light-red and green notes in the lower right corner; the background shows Weenix' typical rose-brown. The *Still-Life with Deer* in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Fig. 10) has been rightly compared with Courbet;<sup>19</sup> it is also the most "Flemish" example as far as the subject is concerned (one is reminded of Snyder) but the *peinture* with its refined chiaroscuro effects is entirely Dutch. The more restrained and minute type of the smaller pictures lacks the Flemish connotations of the larger ones and is related to the work of such masters as Willem van Aelst and Cornelis Lelienbergh. The earliest dated example (1649) is found in the Hartford Museum (Fig. 11);<sup>20</sup> its sober structure and its comparatively careful execution contrast rather sharply with the former group and assign it a firm place among the masters just mentioned (though it is noteworthy that it precedes their earliest known works by one or two years). The rare still-lives of Salomon van Ruysdael are indebted to it, or to similar paintings, in various respects. Other dated examples of this sort are in Schwerin (no. 1004; 1652), Prague (1655) and formerly in the Glitza collection in Hamburg (1656). The one in Schwerin is very Van Aelst-like as is an undated painting in Bremen, while a second picture in Schwerin (no. 1003, undated) is remarkable in that it shows a Kalf-like combination of still-life and interior. However, the most charming and unusual still-life by Weenix seems to be the signed painting now in the collection of Consul-General F. Schwarz in Basle (Fig. 12).<sup>21</sup> It shows a lone partridge suspended against a light-gray wall, and occupies an important place in a series of still-lives which started with Jacopo de Barbari's astonishingly precocious work of 1504 in Munich and was taken up (from Weenix?) by such Dutch painters as Johannes Leemans, and ended with an interesting group of nineteenth century American pictures. One is also reminded of Carel Fabritius' incomparable *Goldfinch* of 1654 at The Hague; however, I think it is rather probable that Weenix' work preceded Fabritius' by a number of years.

Weenix' portraits are scarce and not easy to classify but far from negligible. Two companion pieces, representing a man who holds a wineglass, and his wife, were separated about 1928; the woman is now in the Berlin Museum (no. 2055), the man on the American art market.<sup>22</sup> Both are inscribed with Weenix' Italian signature, the woman also with a date which in the Berlin catalogue reads 1640—doubtless incorrectly, since the form of the signature excludes such an early date as does the style of the picture, which points to 1648 as the correct reading. That the rather weak quality of these portraits was the fault of the sitters rather than of the painter is suggested by the considerable

superiority of the few other examples known to me. *A Man in a Red Velvet Coat*, which belongs to the Orphanage in Oudewater and which was for a while on loan to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Cat. 1921, no. 2620a), is a brilliant piece of characterization as well as of broad painting, reminiscent of the best Utrecht tradition (Bloemaert) and also vaguely of Italian works of the seventeenth century. No less interesting is the so-called *Portrait of René Descartes*, which was acquired by the Utrecht Museum in 1934 and which bears Weenix' Italian signature (Fig. 13).<sup>23</sup> It is done in rapid brushstrokes—Houbraken tells us that Weenix was capable of painting "three life-size portraits, half-length and with accessories, on one summer day"!—and is characterized by a corresponding transitoriness of expression which endows it with a certain "listening" quality, while the tired eyes are rather carefully executed and very impressive. If the portrait does represent the philosopher, it must have been painted between 1647 and 1649, thus shortly after the artist's return from Italy. Another pair of portraits—not dated but probably done somewhat later—is now divided between the Van Horne collection in Montreal and an unknown owner. For curiosity's sake let us note that the lady's likeness, provided with a false Vermeer signature, was sold as a work of the Delft master in the Van Buuren sale in 1925, and that the man (Fig. 14)<sup>24</sup> has figured as a portrait of Spinoza by Emanuel de Witte. The former, not known to me, has already been given to Weenix by G. Isarlov,<sup>25</sup> while the attribution of the latter was suggested by S. J. Gudlaugsson. A comparison with the *Descartes* makes Weenix' authorship of this *Spinoza* certain. The compositional use of the vault and arch is quite ingenious, the broad technique more fluently applied than in the Berlin *Lady* and less sketchy than in the *Descartes*. The casual elegance of the pose reminds one of Bartholomeus van der Helst, whose portraits are otherwise quite different from Weenix'. The two painters were well acquainted with each other. Van der Helst did Weenix' portrait in 1647; of it we have only a poor reflection in Houbraken's engraving, but a large *Family Portrait*, which has just appeared on the London art market (Fig. 16),<sup>26</sup> contains on the extreme left Weenix' self-portrait. Here he looks about ten years older, and this seems to go well with the style of the charmingly awkward painting which is again reminiscent of Van der Helst in some respects (poses, landscape) but much less skillful, and more sincere. A landscape with figures and animals was signed by both masters.<sup>27</sup> Some cases of collaboration between Weenix and other painters (Asselijn, Both) have already been mentioned in note 9, and others will follow.

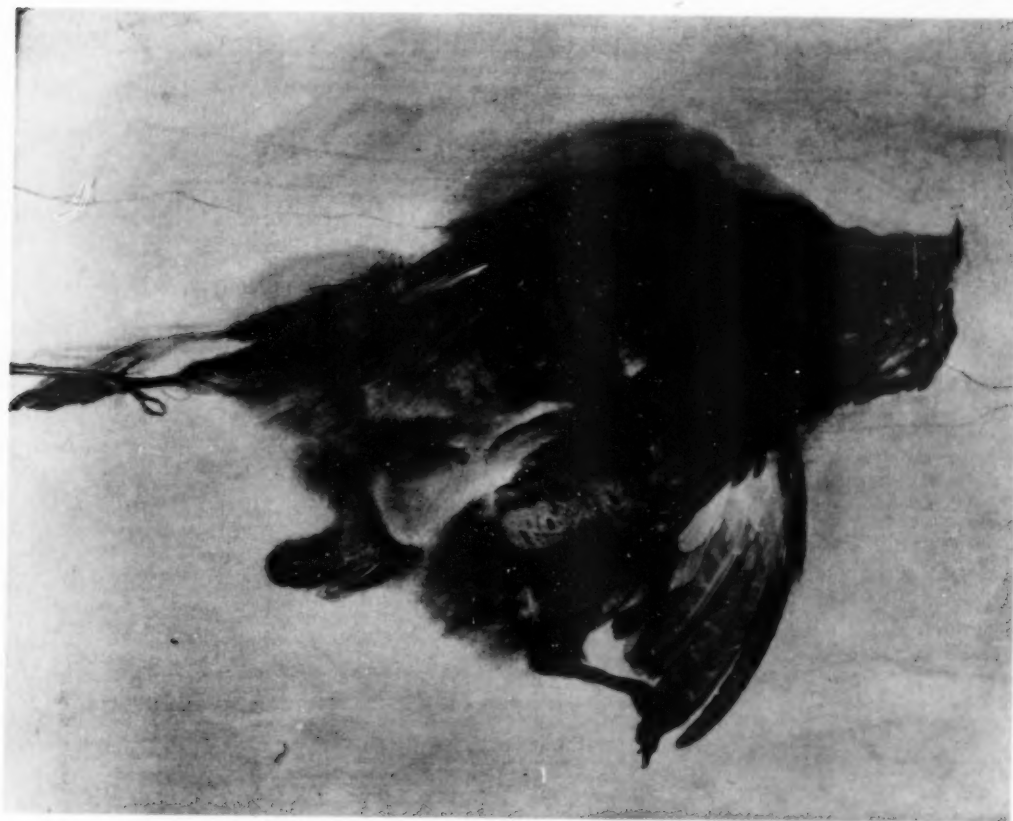


Fig. 12. J. B. WEENIX, *The Partridge*  
*Basle, F. Schwarz Coll.*



Fig. 11. J. B. WEENIX, *Game Piece* (1649)  
*Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Athenaeum*



Fig. 13. J. B. WEENIX, *Portrait of René Descartes (?)*  
Utrecht, Central Museum



Fig. 14. J. B. WEENIX, *Portrait of a Gentleman*  
Montreal, Van Horne Coll.



A paragraph may be added on Weenix' pupils and followers. As mentioned previously Houbraken calls him the teacher of his son Jan, his nephew Melchior d'Hondecoeter and his "cousin" Berchem, which would indicate that the master reserved the benefit of his instruction for relatives. The case of Berchem offers some difficulties. He was two years older than Weenix, with whom he seems to have gone to Rome in 1642, just after having been inscribed in the Haarlem guild. Much of the unquestionable similarity between Berchem's and Weenix' early works can be explained by their common apprenticeship with Moeyaert, but later works by Berchem, and in particular his *Seaports*, of which there are dated examples only after 1654, clearly show Weenix' influence. Again, we have authenticated examples of collaboration between the two masters,<sup>28</sup> although Berchem continued to live in Haarlem. As to Melchior d'Hondecoeter, who was born in Utrecht in 1636, a few early paintings do show some slight similarity with Weenix' more meticulous type of still-lives, but this is about all one can safely say. However, the situation is quite different with regard to Weenix' son Jan, the famous still-life painter, some of whose early works are so closely patterned on his father's that great confusion has arisen. This does not apply to still-lives but to genre scenes in Italian landscapes, which would often be barely distinguishable from similar works by Jan Baptist were it not for their more decorative and pointed kind of elegance and a more mannered technique. Most of these pictures are, however, clearly signed "J Weenix" or monogrammed JW, and some bear dates subsequent to his father's death in 1660. I know such pictures with the dates 1664 (Dulwich, no. 74, a brilliant "calligraphic" piece, of key importance for the matter in question), 1665 (Munich, no. 248), and 1667 (the famous *Partie de Plaisir* in the Petit Palais in Paris, engraved as Jan Baptist's by de Launay and sometimes supposed to have been begun by him but more probably entirely by Jan; a very similar work in Gotha, no. 281). The so-called *Prodigal Son* in the Czernin Gallery in Vienna, according to the catalogue signed "T. Weenix 166." and attributed to Jan Baptist, also seems to belong with this series, as do undated examples in Munich (no. 246) and several other collections. The same applies to some seaports, the like of which Jan continued to paint throughout his life (1704: Louvre); an early work by Jan in Vienna (no. 1231) has sometimes been given to his father. As a curiosity, I mention the presumable signature of a *Palace Court*, which appeared in an exhibition held in Bremen in 1904 (no. 369): "Ao. 1656 G. Jans Weenix invt. Gio. Barth. Weenix fecit." If the first initial was really a G. and not a J. (Jan), it must have referred either

to Jan as "Giovanni" or to Gillis, Jan Baptist's second son, who was then a mere child.<sup>29</sup>

Early works by Jan Weenix have also wrought confusion among the attributions of drawings and etchings to Jan Baptist. Drawings signed "Jan Weenix" (Albertina) or "J W" (Amsterdam, Frankfurt, etc.) must be eliminated before we can gauge the scope of Jan Baptist as a draughtsman. Examples with reliable signatures (in the Italian spelling) are very scarce; they render brilliant impressions, in black or red chalk, of places with topographical interest such as Nijenrode (Amsterdam), the countryside near Harderwijk (Bremen), a tower and bastion (Hamburg), the Old Town Hall in Amsterdam and views of San Francisco della Vigna in Venice (Brussels, de Grez Coll.; not signed but with inscriptions presumably in Weenix' handwriting). The important early drawing of 1641 in Vienna, signed "J Weeninx," has already been discussed; I have found no other reliable dates. A group of drawings with picturesque views of wooden sheds, gateways, and staircases are plausibly given to Weenix (Amsterdam; Leipzig exhibition 1937, no. 163), the more so as Houbraken tells us expressly of such early works of his. But beyond that great care in attributions is advisable; confusion with drawings by Maerten Stoop, Emanuel Murant<sup>30</sup> and others is a constant danger.

Of the very rare etchings usually attributed to Jan Baptist Weenix,<sup>31</sup> at least one (Nagler no. 5) is certainly by Jan (signed "I. Weenix f."). Nagler no. 6, is highly doubtful; Nagler no. 4, also unsigned, is unknown to me as is Nagler no. 2 which Weigel considered to be by Jan. This leaves us with only two completely authenticated etchings: Nagler no. 1, representing a *Bull and Two Cows*, and Nagler no. 3, a *Standing Ox seen from in Front* (Fig. 15). This etching is signed in the lower right corner "JBWeeninx" or "JBWeenix" (JBW in ligature) and once more on top, above the borderline, in reverse: "Gio Batta Weenix Ao 1649 di 19 ottobre."<sup>32</sup> The unique lower signature may have been added as an afterthought because the other one, being in reverse, was hard to read; its brief Dutch form fits the restricted space. At any rate, it can hardly have been put there much later since it is found on the un-reduced plate. The work is reminiscent of Berchem's epoch-making series of 1644, for instance, of his *Cow and Two Sheep* (B. 26).<sup>33</sup> In comparison it looks a little awkward but has a peculiar charm. It is honest, truly rustic, and done with unmistakable gusto.

<sup>1</sup> Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Kunsstchilders en Schilderessen* (first edition, 1718-21), The Hague, 1753, II, 77-83; Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon*, 1910; Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, The Hague, 1915 ff., pp. 297 ff., 1213, 1224, and in *Oud Holland*, XLV (1928), 177 f.; C. J. de Jonge, *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, 1932, pp. 124 and 129 f.; Willem Martin, *De Hollandsche Schilderkunst in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1936, II, 460 ff. Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon* XXXV, 1942, 246-247. I have received very valuable information from: the Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische documentatie in The Hague, particularly from its Deputy Director, Dr. H. Gerson; Mr. F. Lugt of The Hague; the Frick Art Reference Library in New York; the staffs of the museums in Detroit and Hartford and the New-York Historical Society; Dr. Paul Drey and Dr. Kurt Lilienfeld, New York; and Mr. S. Nijstad in Lochem (Holland).

<sup>2</sup> A misprint in Houbraken (p. 81) makes him (then) 16 years old; this obviously stands for 76 and refers to 1718 when Houbraken started publishing his *Schouburgh*. Even more conclusive is the same author's remark that Jan was 14 months old four years after Jan Baptist's marriage (which is certain to have taken place in 1639).

<sup>3</sup> According to G. J. Hoogewerff, *Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten*, XVIII (1941), 257.

<sup>4</sup> Parallels are found in practically all of Moeyaert's works before ca. 1640; very striking ones occur in his *Hippocrates and Democritus* of 1636 at The Hague (no. 115; see the literature mentioned in the 1935 catalogue, p. 454). The few known works by Jan Micker (Bredius, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.; G. Isarlov, *La Renaissance*, July-September, 1936, repr. on p. 37) show little or no connection with the style of his pupil. Whether Houbraken was correct in reporting an apprenticeship with Abraham Bloemaert remains uncertain; vague stylistic affinities to the works of the Utrecht master in some of Weenix' later works (see p. 192) can be explained by his stay in the city in which Bloemaert died in 1631.

<sup>5</sup> *Oud Holland*, XLIII (1926), 267 (with an unfortunate reference to a different, and false, signature on a picture formerly in Stuttgart). The recent Rotterdam catalogues contain nothing on the Weenix signature although the one of 1921 tentatively assigns the still-life to him. The attribution to Fabritius has been accepted by W. R. Valentiner, *The Art Bulletin*, XIV (1932), 228, with reference to a similar motif in a Rembrandt drawing.

<sup>6</sup> Cat. 1915, no. B-189, from the collections of Cardinal Fesch in Rome (cat. 1841, no. 251, not in the sale of 1845) and Bryan; 22 x 17½ in. No. D-68 of the same museum is Flemish, no. B-345 apparently 19th century.

<sup>7</sup> Exhibition "Die Meister des holländischen Interieurs," Berlin (Dr. Schaeffer), 1928, no. 105a. Compare Houbraken's remark on Dou- and Mieris-like paintings by Weenix.

<sup>8</sup> Engraved by N. Muxel in the Leuchtenberg catalogue of 1851. Exhibited in Utrecht, 1946, no. 39, ca. 40 x 57½ in. Other dated examples of *Seaports*: Stockholm (1648); London, Wallace Coll. (1649); Leningrad (1651); London, Bridgewater Gallery (1651 or 1656). On the small painting in New York, Metropolitan Museum, no. W 422-1, the catalogue tentatively reads an unusual monogram JBW and the date 1648. Among the many apocrypha I mention only: Berlin, no. 1954; Braunschweig, no. 367; and London, Wallace Coll., no. 146. The *Seascape* in Karlsruhe is not by Weenix, but a "Zeestuk van de oude Weenix" is mentioned as early as 1711 (*Künstler-Inventare*, p. 1226).

<sup>9</sup> G. J. Hoogewerff, *op. cit.* Weenix and Asselijn collaborated in a *Seaport* (Vienna, Academy, signed by both masters) which, however, was probably painted in Amsterdam after their return from Italy (R. Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldergalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, 1927, p. 449, with pl. 164). Jan Both was already back in Utrecht when Weenix went to Italy. He followed Claude Lorrain more closely than others in his landscapes. But his figures, which, contrary to an old and seemingly ineradicable belief, were painted by the artist himself in all pictures known to us, are rather akin to Weenix'. True, we cannot safely assign any works to Both's Italian sojourn, and some of his influence upon Weenix can be attributed to their common Utrecht period during which there were instances of collaboration (with Nicolaes Knüpfer in his *Schwerin Contentement*; see *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, 1932, p. 130, with misprint 1641 instead of 1651); but Both's style must indeed have been formed during his Italian years (Rome-Venice). The same seems to be true of Thomas Wijck who is said to have been a pupil of Pieter van Laer in Rome and was back in Haarlem in 1642. Dates are sorely lacking but some of his presumably early Italian scenes may have impressed Weenix in Rome, while similarities between the latter's work and the style of the young Berchem can at least partly be explained by their common apprenticeship with Nicolaes Moeyaert in Amsterdam.

<sup>10</sup> In a picture once owned by the art dealer Haberkamp in Berlin.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to the one discussed here see Waagen's *Art Treasures in Great Britain*, IV, 427 and III, 387 (later in Walsingham Abbey sale in London, Nov. 25, 1921, no. 88), and a picture photographed by Braun, no. 373.

<sup>12</sup> Acquired in 1937, 57 x 49 in.; *Art News*, V (Oct. 14, 1939), 9.

<sup>13</sup> Cat. no. 791; 26½ x 31½ in.

<sup>14</sup> 27½ x 35 in. Dated landscapes with genre scenes are scarce (Leningrad, 1647). There is a group of genre scenes in which the landscape element is rather negligible; lovely examples are the *Roman Tinker* in Frankfurt and the *Knife-Grinder* in Speyer. On the *Sleeping Girl* in Munich (no. 869), Nicolas de Pigage had read the date 1656 (*La Galerie Electorale de Duesseldorf*, 1778). To the landscapes I add two pictures with biblical scenes (*Meeting of Jacob and Esau*, in Dresden, and *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*; see Charles Blanc, *op. cit.*), an *Erminia with the Shepherds*, from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, VII (Berlin-Grunewald; most charming) and, as an example of unidentified subjects, the *Corsaires repoussés* in the Louvre. For Baron van Wyttenhorst Weenix painted, in 1653, a picture with "all of his wife's dogs" (*Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, 1932, p. 129; possibly identical with a painting which Wurzbach listed as being in the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna).

<sup>15</sup> A. P. A. Vorenkamp, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het hollandsch stilleven in de zeventiende eeuw*, Leiden, 1933, p. 84.

- <sup>28</sup> Exhibited in Rotterdam, 1938, no. 163, pl. 147.
- <sup>29</sup> Collection in the Castle, no. 79, reproduced in E. Bassermann-Jordan, *Unveröffentlichte Gemälde alter Meister aus dem Besitze des bayerischen Staates*, II (1908), 11, pl. 41.
- <sup>30</sup> *Bulletin* X (Oct. 1928), 11; 60 x 60½ in., cut at the bottom. Formerly attributed to Jan Weenix (*Bulletin*, VII, 67).
- <sup>31</sup> Vorenkamp, *op. cit.*, and W. Martin (see note 1), p. 461; 72 x 65 in.
- <sup>32</sup> *List of Pictures in the Wadsworth Atheneum Galleries*, 1901, no. 36; 32 x 26½ in.; Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1938, p. 31 and Fig. 71.
- <sup>33</sup> 20 x 16 in.
- <sup>34</sup> They were together in the Lefèvre sale in Paris in 1895, later at Kleinberger's. The *Man* was exhibited in Indianapolis, 1937, no. 73. Each 30½ x 25 in.
- <sup>35</sup> C. H. de Jonge, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, June 26, 1934. Catalogue Utrecht, 1941, no. 225x; 18 x 14 in. The identification with Descartes has been opposed by Louis Dimier, *Beaux-Arts*, Dec. 21, 1934, p. 4, and was hotly debated when the picture was compared with authentic portraits of the philosopher (Frans Hals) at the Descartes Exhibition in Paris, 1937. The motto "Mundus est fabula" is certainly alien to Descartes!
- <sup>36</sup> 31 x 25 in.; it is perhaps worth mentioning that Houbraken speaks of Weenix as having vied with E. de Witte, "famous for his knowledge of perspective," and that Blanc lists *Church Interiors* among Weenix' works.
- <sup>37</sup> *La Renaissance*, July-September, 1936, p. 27, note 73.
- <sup>38</sup> I have not seen this painting, whose photograph I owe to F. Partridge & Sons in London. The family has been identified as Arnout van Wijckersloot, his wife Catherina Wessels, and their children, Angelica, Petronella and Jan. The signature on the left barrel has been tentatively read as "Jan Weenix." In any case, the authorship of Jan Baptist seems very probable; the self-portrait of the painter goes well with Houbraken's engraving after Van der Helst, and for the dog, the treatment of the foreground and the bare trees compare our Fig. 7; 37 x 53 in. A Jan van Wijckersloot was a Utrecht painter, alderman (1658) and dean (1670) of the painters' College.
- <sup>39</sup> J. J. de Gelder, *Bartholomeus van der Helst*, Rotterdam, 1921, p. 22 and cat. no. 20. The picture was also in the Leroy d'Etoilles sale in 1861, see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, IX (1861), 305.
- <sup>40</sup> C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschr. u. krit. Verzeichnis*, IX, no. 24 and 57.
- <sup>41</sup> Outside of this inner circle Weenix' influence was not very great. I can detect some in the works of Adam Pijnacker who was, however, only one year younger than Weenix and might have developed his basic style characteristics independently (no certain dates before 1654). Johan Lingelbach, like Pijnacker born in 1622, spent the years from 1644 to 1650 in Rome where he might have met Weenix, of whose style his *seaports* are strongly reminiscent (no dates before 1659). A late follower of Weenix (in some of his pictures) was Johannes van der Bent (ca. 1650-90); it is noteworthy that a *Boating Party*, wrongly attributed to the former in a private collection in Holland (from Sedelmeyer sale in Paris, May 25, 1907, no. 203), is actually a variant of a signed painting by Van der Bent (Brenken-Bechade sale in Cologne, April 1, 1886, no. 12). His signature lends itself to being forged into Weenix'. Finally, it must be noted that some early works by Dirck Stoop strongly resemble pictures by Weenix, with whom he collaborated in two *Grottoes* (one of them listed by E. Trautscholdt in Thieme-Becker; the other one in Berlin, no. 1751, signed by both masters according to information from Dr. I. Kunze). Connections also exist between Weenix and Maerten Stoop as well as Nicolaes Knüpfer with whom he has occasionally been confused (*Prodigal Son* in the Schloss collection in Paris; see H. Schneider in Thieme-Becker, and, for the corresponding drawing in Amsterdam, formerly attributed to Jan Lys, Cl. Misme in *Oud Holland*, I (1933), 35). The question of priority must be left unanswered as long as we know next to nothing about Knüpfer's artistic development. On Weenix' collaboration with Knüpfer see note 9.
- <sup>42</sup> See *Oud Holland*, LXI (1946), 43-47.
- <sup>43</sup> Nagler's *Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, sub voce J. B. Weenix. Weigel's error in listing his no. 3 (a copy of a reduced plate of Nagler no. 3) has been fully cleared up by Nagler but unfortunately perpetuated by Wurzbach and others.
- <sup>44</sup> Part of this inscription was unfortunately cut off in our photograph.
- <sup>45</sup> Reproduced in P. Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten*, Berlin, 1922, p. 372.





Fig. 15. J. B. WEENIX, *The Standing Ox*  
(etching, 1649)  
*Amsterdam Printroom*



Fig. 16. J. B. WEENIX, *Family Portrait*  
*London Art Market*



*Fig. 1. MING DYNASTY, Blue and White Jar with  
pair of Dragons on the Wall  
University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology*



*Fig. 2. Base of Figure 1*



*Fig. 3. Same Jar as Figure 1*

## MING EXPORT BLUE AND WHITE JARS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COLLECTION

By KAMER AGA-OGU

THE blue and white porcelain in the collections of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, acquired by the University's Philippine Expedition,<sup>1</sup> comprises the second major group of Chinese ceramics, the first being the celadon.<sup>2</sup> Considering the amount of the blue and white ware which this expedition unearthed in the Islands only, we are reminded once more of the magnitude of its output for export, not to mention the quantity which must have been made for home markets.

This ware, consisting of several hundred specimens, is, except for a few, of the ordinary export variety and shows a marked uniformity in the quality, decoration and form of its individual pieces. In general the specimens are rather heavy and consist mainly of utilitarian shapes, such as dishes, bowls, and saucers. Vases, bottles and jars comprise a small group. Four jars of this latter group, which show a close relationship, have been chosen for discussion here.

It may be of interest, considering the subject of this paper, to refer here to the articles "Early Ming Blue and White," written by Mr. Gerald Reitlinger and Mr. Martin Button, published in the January and March, 1948, issues of the *Burlington Magazine*. The general effect of these articles has been healthy in the sense that, besides having stimulated interest in the blue and white, it also has contributed to a more critical approach in the study of this ware. However, the attempt of the authors of these articles to repudiate the authenticity of a group of blue and white porcelain ascribed to the fifteenth century is unfortunately vague. In questioning the theories and attributions of the authorities, especially like the late Hobson and Brankston, whose works still are the main source of information, they fail to furnish new data and material evidence to support their argument. In maintaining that most of the blue and white attributed to the fifteenth century and including many with the mark of Hsüan Tê period (1426-1435), must be of Wan li (1573-1619), K'ang Hsi (1662-1722) or of a still later period, they base their dispute mainly upon the analysis of the stylistic aspect of the floral decoration and the credibility of the marks, without considering other equally important features of the ware. Furthermore, they fail to define a type of blue and white which they believe to be of the fifteenth century.

Those who are seriously interested know well that our knowledge of Chinese pottery in general and of the Sung, Yüan and early Ming blue and white in particular, is incomplete and that we need further literary, archaeological and material data to throw more light upon this field. Furthermore, a sound criticism of the existing methods and theories may be equally valuable if it is verified by facts. As to the controversy aroused by the articles of the above mentioned authors, any further remark would be unnecessary after the well-founded comments made by Mr. Edgar Bluett and Mr. Van Paulsen in the May, 1948 issue of the *Burlington Magazine*.

In reference to the pre-Ming and early Ming blue and white porcelain, it should be noted that a considerable number of it has come to light in Indo-China, Siam, Dutch East Indies, Philippines, and other parts of Indonesia. Varying from the heavily built early pieces, the bold and spontaneous decoration of which resembles the Tz'u Chou and celadon, to later types of a finer shape and sophisticated decoration, this group is of great value because of our insufficient knowledge of the early blue and white ware.

In this connection we wish to refer, besides the Michigan collection, to the findings in Indo-China and the Philippines made by Dr. Olov Janse of the Smithsonian Institution, whose publications we quote in this article. Part of the ceramic specimens brought by him to this country are housed at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Through the kindness of Dr. Janse and Dr. Donald Scott of the Peabody Museum, it was possible for the writer to examine the collection which consists mainly of Chinese celadon and blue and white specimens. Another valuable contribution in this field is made by Mr. Peter Boode in his excellent article, "Some Remarks on Pre-Ming and Early Fifteenth Century Blue and White Chinese Porcelain, with especial reference to pieces found in the Dutch East Indies," published in the *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. XXI, 1945-1946. Finally, we must mention one of the most important collections of Chinese export celadon and blue and white ware which have been brought together, mostly as a result of excavation, by Dr. H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines in Manila.

At this point, before the discussion of the blue and white jars, it seems fitting to mention a few general facts regarding this ware. In the history of Chinese pottery no other ware, except the celadon, enjoyed the popularity of the blue and white porcelain. As the name indicates, it is a white ware with decoration painted in blue under a transparent glaze. This combination of a dazzling white and brilliant blue must have had an esthetic appeal not only for the Chinese and



other peoples of the Far East but for the peoples of the Near East and Europe as well.

The blue and white ware, like the celadon, made to suit all classes of people, represents a great variety in quality and workmanship. It ranges from the most finely potted and exquisitely painted Imperial pieces down to the crudely shaped and carelessly decorated ordinary kind. The universal popularity of this ware having made it one of the most important export items from the very beginning of its manufacture, resulted in its spreading far beyond the borders of China. Archaeological investigations of medieval sites have proved the presence of this ware throughout the Far and Near East, a vast territory extending from the Philippine Islands to the ruins of the ancient Fostat in Egypt.

It is interesting to note that the blue and white porcelain followed directly the footsteps of its predecessor, the celadon, in the East as well as West. The Near East, already acquainted with the celadon, was naturally first in receiving great quantities of this ware, which later found its way into Europe and America.

The manufacture of this blue painted porcelain goes back to the Yüan dynasty and most probably this decoration was already known in the Sung period.<sup>3</sup> However, it has been associated with the Ming dynasty, since it came into prominence during that period when the Sung vogue for monochrome glazes gave place to underglaze pictorial designs in blue or red and to colored glazes and enamels.<sup>4</sup>

The famous pottery town of Chingtechén, in the district of Fouliang in Kiangsi, known to have been the center of the Imperial manufacture of porcelain, was not the only place where the blue and white was made. There were numerous private kilns in the same district, e.g., at Hu-t'ien, Nan Shan and Hsiang-hu, which produced this ware,<sup>5</sup> and we know of the pottery center at Tê-hua in Fukien which made it in quantities not only for the local markets but for export as well.<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly there were other kilns which manufactured the blue and white ware. However, since there is not enough evidence at present, we must wait for the results of future archaeological researches to throw more light upon the extent of manufacture of a ware which, due to its long-lasting popularity, is still being made in China.

The scope of this article does not permit a discussion of the manufacturing technique of the blue and white porcelain, nor is there at present any new data which could be added to the excellent information contained in the works of Hobson, Brankston and other authorities.

The blue decorated porcelain in the Michigan collection, like the celadon ware representing the common type manufactured in China for the general public and the trade abroad, illustrates the shapes, decoration and the way of making this type of ware of the Ming and post-Ming periods. Among the products of the Ming origin, four jars form an interesting topic for discussion. Three of these have a decoration consisting of two dragons and the fourth has ducks swimming among formal lotus flowers. Of the jars with the dragon motif two, being almost identical, bear a close resemblance in every respect, except for the subject matter of the decoration, to the jar with lotus and ducks, a fact which points strongly to their origin from the same locality (Figs. 6 to 9 and 12). However, the third jar with the dragons, unlike any other specimen, is unique in the entire collection.

This specimen was obtained from a native of the island of Siquijor in southern Visayas (Figs. 1-3) (Field Cat. No. X12-2; 27.4 x 22.4 cm.). It is pear-shaped, has a short, straight neck thickened at the rim and a low, beveled footring. On the shoulder are four carelessly made loop handles which have grooves on the back and circles and tiny knobs at the end. The jar has been made in two sections and luted together afterwards. A prominent ridge on the inside of the wall, 11.5 cm. below the rim of the mouth, indicates the place where the two parts joined. Obviously the potter did not take great pains in smoothing over the seam, at least on the outside where traces of it, together with the marks of the trimming tool, are quite obvious in spite of the thick glaze. The wall of the vessel is rather heavy and opaque with a thickness at the shoulder of about 0.7 cm. Its body is a hard porcelain of grayish-white tone, quite fine in grain and compact in texture, although it is not well levigated and has impurities and air-holes.

The jar is glazed entirely except for the edge of the footring, which is trimmed unevenly. The uncrackled glaze, of a slightly greenish tinge, is bubbly, thick and unctuous and in spite of numerous flaws and pin-holes, has a smooth and rather matt surface which feels like polished jade. On the base it consists of a thin, uneven wash and particles of sand and grit, which have adhered to it and indicate that the vessel rested on a pile of sand during firing (Fig. 2). The glaze, where it is very thin, especially on the base, has oxidized and turned golden-tan or orange and has a lustrous sheen. It should be noted that the unglazed paste of the footring, which was exposed to the heat of the kiln, did not change color. It is of a grayish tone with a dull and smooth, putty-like surface, which is peppered with tiny rust-colored specks.<sup>7</sup> However, in parts,



*Fig. 4. MING DYNASTY, Blue and White  
Jar with pair of Dragons on the Wall  
Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art,  
Washington, D. C.*



*Fig. 5. Base of Figure 4*



Fig. 6. MING DYNASTY, Blue and White Jar with pair of Dragons  
disputing Sacred Pearl  
University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology



Fig. 7. Same Jar as Figure 6



where there is a slight flow of glaze, it has turned orange. Thus it is evident that in this piece the unprotected paste was only slightly effected by the fire and the misleading orange spots on it are the oxidized dabs of the thin film of glaze.

Some of the technical peculiarities of this specimen, e.g., the sandy base, undisguised ridge on the wall, roughly finished footrim and the uneven glaze of the base, illustrate characteristics which are similar to those pointed out by Hobson, Zimmermann and other authorities in connection with the Ming porcelain, especially the blue and white.<sup>8</sup>

This summary manner of potting, as well as of painting, seems to have been the way of the Ming potter in making the cheaper and heavier wares. Hobson makes a distinction between the export pieces of the Ming dynasty and those of the K'ang Hsi period and refers to the latter as being finished with more care and exactness.<sup>9</sup>

On the wall of the jar is a decoration consisting of a pair of four-clawed, horned dragons surrounded by clouds and there is a wave design, below each dragon, indicated by three semicircles. A band of stiff petals adorns the shoulder but the winding motif on the neck is indistinct and blurred (Figs. 1 and 3). The dragons are depicted in profile with their serpentine bodies curved, the head of one directed forward, that of the other turned back. Their feet, with long, curved claws resembling huge spiders, are thin and weak in comparison to their bold bodies (Fig. 1). A row of thorny spines, executed in irregular strokes, adorns their backs, but their bodies, having no indication of scales, appear to be smooth. Both have forked horns and beards which are indicated by a few quick brush strokes. Regardless of the fact that they have no eyes, teeth or mane their scowling heads are very expressive.

The rather uneven circle seen above the head of one of the dragons (Fig. 3) may represent the pearl or sun-disk, one of the symbols associated with the dragon. However, no prominence has been given to it in this composition, where the pair of dragons seems to be the main subject. It is interesting to note that the dragon here bears the characteristics of two different types. The serpentine body of the horned dragon has been given a divided tail, which is a feature of the *Chih-lung*, the archaic lizard-like dragon depicted on ancient bronzes and jades.<sup>10</sup>

The cobalt of the decoration is of a dull, grayish-blue color, which varies in depth, depending upon the thickness of the paint, from a shade very much like the "Mosaic Blue"<sup>11</sup> to a pale watery blue. The designs are outlined care-

lessly and filled in with flat washes of blue, executed in dark and light tones which give them a mottled effect. Furthermore, the thick and bubbly glaze has made the drawings appear hazy. The technique of painting of this vessel seems to correspond to one of the styles used by Ming potters in the decoration of the blue and white ware.<sup>12</sup>

It is apparent that the artist had difficulty in controlling the cobalt paint, which evidently was also not of a pure quality. In almost all strokes of the brush the blue has run badly, blurring the lines of the design. Furthermore, in several places, where it is in large blotches or has run down in heavy streaks, it has turned a dirty greenish-black, having a lustrous, metallic sheen. Thus it is evident that the vessel must have been fired in an oxidizing atmosphere.

The black spots in the blue, known to appear in some of the blue and white of the Ming period, have been mentioned in various sources dealing with this ware.<sup>13</sup> It seems that this feature occurs more frequently in the specimens of the Ming rather than post-Ming period. In this connection it should be referred to the fact that among the blue and white in this museum the black spots in the blue of the decoration are more common in the early Ming specimens than in the later pieces.

Although the oxidization of the cobalt paint may occur at any time under certain conditions, it seems that in the late Ming and Ch'ing periods the potters took more pains in refining the cobalt pigment and were able to control their kilns better. Brankston pays special attention to the oxidization of the glaze of the early Ming porcelains in general and to that of the cobalt blue in particular. According to him, during the Ming dynasty the kilns were often opened too soon, e.g., before the temperature had dropped below the point at which the oxidization occurs. In such a case, with a large draught of air rushing into the kiln, the excess of oxygen would reconvert the iron in the glaze and body into rust or iron oxide and the cobalt silicate into black cobalt oxide. Apparently this custom was abandoned after the seventeenth century, when, as a rule, the kilns were kept closed until the wares cooled properly.<sup>14</sup>

In the final analysis the jar seems to be the product of a Ming kiln, portraying a common trade ware. Its decoration, whether original or a copy, showing carelessness in the representation as well as execution of the design, is typical of this kind of the blue and white porcelain. Being a rather coarse product of some provincial kiln and obviously destined for export and not for the more critical Chinese customer, the vessel, naturally, does not portray an iconography as true to tradition as a better example would. Yet, the shortcomings of the

decoration and the summary manner of the potting do not detract from the strength of its basic characteristics, which are evident in the strong and well proportioned form and in the simple but expressive decoration. And its most striking feature lies in the perfect blending of the large boldly painted dragons with the firm shape of the vessel.

The writer was very pleased, indeed, to find an almost identical jar in the Freer Gallery of Art. She is indebted to Mr. John A. Pope, who kindly gave permission for its discussion here and provided the photographs. The Freer blue and white jar (Figs. 4 and 5) (27.2 x 23.9 cm.), obtained in Indo-China, greatly resembles the Michigan piece which, as has been mentioned, was brought from the Philippines. Of almost the same size, they are amazingly similar in shape, decoration, technique of painting and the quality of the cobalt blue. Furthermore, both have the same type of handles, beveled footring, sandy base and the prominent ridge on the wall, where the two parts were luted together. It should be noted that in both specimens this seam is located at almost the same position. However, in quality the Freer piece is much inferior to the Michigan specimen.

Unlike the latter, the glaze of the Freer jar is thin, glossy and crackled. Furthermore, it is of an uneven rusty-tan color, probably due to oxidization. However, the discoloration and crackling, which occurred during firing, do not alter our assumption that the glaze would have come out similar to the Michigan jar had this specimen been fired under more favorable conditions. This is evident from the fact that the glaze on some parts of the neck and handles is of a slightly greenish tinge, with the light body of the vessel gleaming through it.

In examining the jar, it was impossible to get a glimpse of the body because of the fact that it is glazed entirely, including even the edge of the footring. However, the presence of a great number of blemishes and air-holes in the glaze and numerous bumps on the surface of the wall, some of which have burst through the glaze, leaves little doubt that the clay and glaze of the vessel are of a coarse and impure quality (Fig. 4).

The thin wash of glaze on the base is spread unevenly; coarse sand and grit which have stuck to it and the footring indicate that the vessel rested similarly on a pile of sand during firing (Fig. 5).

The blue decoration on the wall of the jar consists of a pair of dragons among clouds and there is a semicircular wave design near the base (Fig. 4). With a slight difference in the treatment of the head, the dragons here are of

the same type which adorn the Michigan piece. The cobalt paint of its decoration, being of the same dull, pale blue, has similarly oxidized in parts and turned muddy black, having a lustrous metallic sheen. Finally, the designs, executed in light and dark washes, reveal the technique of painting of the first jar.

The Freer jar recalls to mind a type of a blue and white ware to which Hobson refers as: "... the coarse crackled porcelain, with roughly painted blue designs, found in Borneo and Malaysia, where it is credited with great antiquity."<sup>15</sup> At any rate it is not hard to assume that the Freer and Michigan jars might have been made at one of numerous kiln centers of China, where various kinds of wares were manufactured for export to neighboring countries.

The next two Michigan jars with dragons, being very similar in shape, decoration, technique of painting and quality of the underglaze blue, differ slightly in size and in the detail of the design. The first of these was obtained in Dapitan, Zamboanga Province, island of Mindanao (Figs. 6 and 7) (Field Cat. No. X-6; 36.7 x 25.5 cm.). The second came from the island of Jolo in the Sulu group. This jar was unfortunately broken and two of its fragments are missing (Figs. 8 and 9) (Field Cat. No. M28-156; 34.7 x 25.2 cm.). Both pieces have covers; the one for the second jar is illustrated here (Fig. 10). It has a blue decoration consisting of clouds and flames and a knob in the shape of a crouching lion or dog. The second cover has exactly the same decoration except that, according to the owner, its knob, which is missing, had been a monkey.

The jars are of ovoid form with a short, inslanting neck and a wall flaring slightly at the wide base. Their low, beveled footrings are trimmed neatly. On their shoulders are four lion-mask handles provided with a hole for the passing of a cord.

In comparison to the jars already discussed, these are of much finer quality and show a better workmanship. Their bodies are of a hard, white porcelain, fine in grain and compact in texture, although some impurities and air holes are seen at the fracture. Both are glazed inside and out, including the base (Fig. 11), except for the edge of the footring and the rim of the mouth, where the cover rested during firing. The exposed paste in both specimens is slightly browned at the mouth, showing an orange edge at the point of junction of the paste and glaze. At the footrim, where there is a trace of glaze, the paste has assumed a lustrous orange tone, partly turned reddish, but otherwise it has the same light brown matt surface.



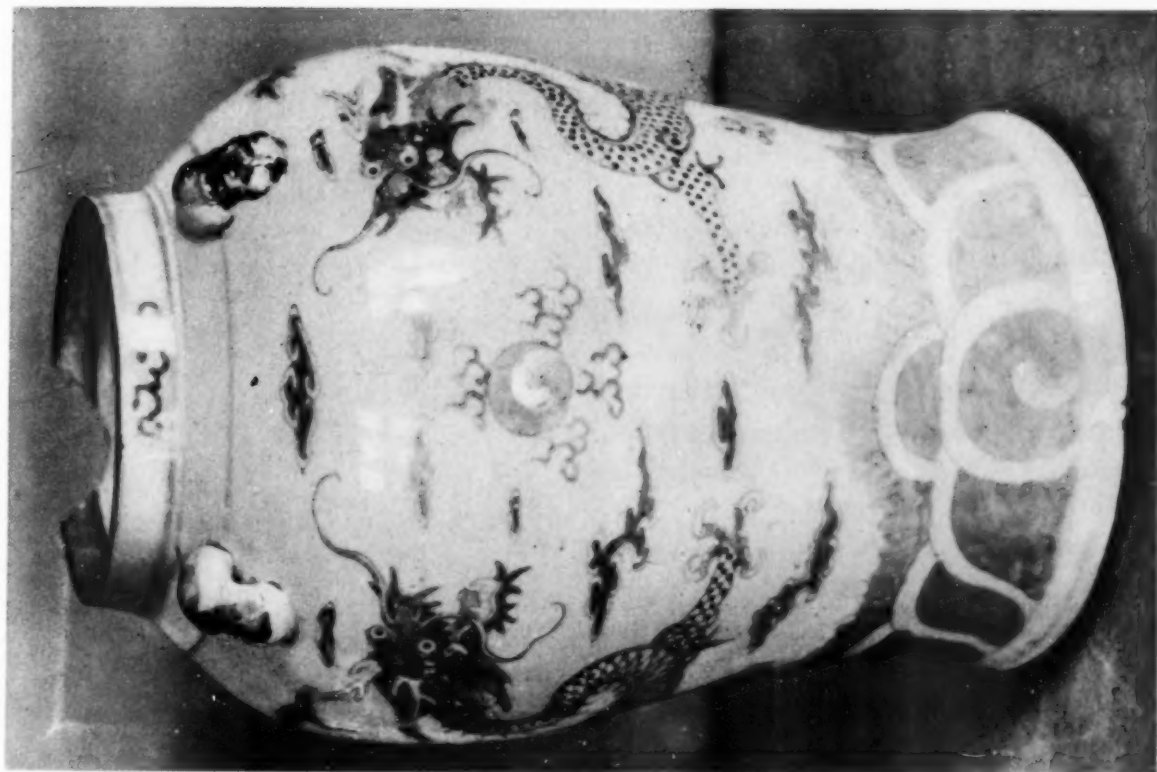


Fig. 8. MING DYNASTY, Blue and White jar with pair of Dragons  
disputing Sacred Pearl  
University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology



Fig. 9. Back view of Figure 8 showing rock formation  
resembling tree trunk



*Fig. 10. Cover of Figure 8*



*Fig. 11. Base of Figure 8*



*Fig. 12. MING DYNASTY, Blue and White Jar  
with Lotus and Ducks on the Wall  
University of Michigan,  
Museum of Anthropology*

The glaze of the vessels, with the familiar greenish cast, is glossy and spread evenly. It has occasional rust-brown specks and tiny air-holes and is oxidized to a golden-tan where it has run thin. The jars, potted evenly and finished neatly, are rather heavy at the base, thinning gradually towards the neck. The wall of the first, being slightly thinner and registering a thickness at the shoulder of *ca.* 0.5 cm., is translucent, and that of the second, having a thickness at the same place of *ca.* 0.7 cm., is opaque. Though both specimens have marks of the trimming tool on the inside of the wall, no trace of a connecting seam is evident.

The cobalt used in the decoration of the jars differs in value in each piece depending upon the thickness of the paint. In the first jar (Figs. 6 and 7), applied rather generously, it is of a deep, dull blue, very similar to the "Peking Blue."<sup>16</sup> In the second (Figs. 8 and 9), being thinner, the blue lacks depth and is decidedly grayish in tone. The designs are outlined firmly and filled in with flat washes, variegated by dark and light tones. The paint has been controlled perfectly and the lines of decoration, executed with sure strokes of the brush, stand out clearly. Although occasional blackening of the cobalt is evident, it seems to be of a good quality and to have resisted the firing well.

The decoration of both jars consists of a pair of horned dragons engaged in combat for the possession of the flaming disc or pearl, which is rendered in the form of *yin* and *yang*, the symbol of the duality of nature. The dragons are of the traditional type portraying a ferocious monster with a scowling bearded head, flowing mane, a scaly, serpentine body with protruding spines and four feet with sharp claws. They are leaping through clouds and flames in pursuit of the precious symbol, which has been variously interpreted as the Buddhist jewel or the sun-disc. Four claws on each of their feet indicate that they do not represent the Imperial dragon, distinguished by five claws, which naturally would not appear on ordinary ware. On each jar, below the dragons, is a wave design with a single rock formation, which in the first is of an oval shape and in the second resembles a grotesque tree trunk (Fig. 9). The decoration on the neck of the first jar consists of waves and flames and on the second of flames only.

The last jar in this group was obtained in Dapitan, Zamboanga Province, in the island of Mindanao (Fig. 12) (Field Cat. No. X-6; 35.4 x 24.5 cm.). In its main aspects, except for the subject of the decoration, the piece greatly resembles the pair of dragon jars just described and seems to have originated from the same manufacturing center. It has exactly the same shape and is

adorned similarly with four lion-mask handles, but its short neck is straight instead of slanting as in the pair of dragon jars. Likewise it is glazed all over except for the rim of the mouth and the edge of its beveled footring, which is trimmed neatly and is similar to Fig. 11. The wall of the vessel, with a thickness of 0.6 cm. at the shoulder, is opaque, like one of the pair of dragon jars, and, having been potted in a similar manner, shows no trace of a connecting ridge. Its body is of the same hard, white porcelain with the exposed paste of the mouth and footrim similarly burnt.

The glaze, covering the vessel evenly, is glossy and has the same greenish cast, but, contrary to the dragon jars, it has a greater number of rust-brown specks, some of which are quite large (Fig. 12). Similar specks are likewise present in the paste of its exposed mouth and footrim. It should be noted that the cobalt blue paint of the decoration has oxidized slightly in a few places, where it has turned greenish-black.

The decoration on the wall of the jar consists of four separate units of conventionalized lotus plants with large leaves supported by tall stems, bearing buds or seed-pods(?) and four ducks swimming among the plants (Fig. 12). In spite of the repetition of the same motives there is a refreshing variety in the detail of each plant; the monotony is broken further by the turn of the head of two of the ducks. The neck of the vessel is adorned with four umbrella-like leaves.

The designs are outlined and filled in with flat washes of cobalt paint of a deep, grayish-blue with a faint purplish hue, a color very similar to the so-called "Hussar" blue.<sup>17</sup> The water is indicated by thin washes of pale blue with the waves accentuated by somewhat darker tints. The designs, executed with sure, quick strokes of the brush, stand out clearly.

The decoration of the jar is impressive not only in the spontaneity of its design but in the skillful incorporation of the space, which has become an integral part of the composition. Thus, the artist has successfully achieved the effect of a spacious, peaceful pond where ducks are swimming among lotus flowers while a gentle breeze ripples the surface of the water and the leaves of the plants. The symbolic element of the decoration is manifested by the lotus and the duck. The first, as the sacred flower of the Buddhists, also highly esteemed by the Taoists, symbolizes purity and perfection, the second is one of the emblems of happiness.

It is interesting to note that the lotus plants here with their large leaves soaring high above the water (Fig. 12) are very similar, indeed, to those on



two dishes illustrated in Brankston's *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen*. The Frontispiece and Pl. 20(a) show both sides of a blue and white Hsüan-tê dish with dragons among lotus flowers, and Pl. 24(a) is a Hung-chih dish with a decoration in blue consisting of the same motif, rendered in the same style. The surprising similarity which exists in the drawing of the tall-stemmed lotus leaves on those dishes and the jar under discussion, prompts an assumption that the original, which inspired the painter of this jar, must have been a specimen with a decoration similar in style to the dishes illustrated by Brankston.<sup>18</sup> A mere resemblance of the decoration would have been of little importance had this jar been a late piece, since it is a well-known fact that the Chinese potter never stopped copying the works of his predecessors, whom he venerates even today.

However, the jar exhibits too many early characteristics to be taken as a Ch'ing copy of a Ming piece. In this respect its prominent features are the simplicity of the shape, omission of the detail to emphasize the main motif of the decoration and the technique of the painting. These characteristics in addition to the other properties brought out in the description, speak for the Ming origin of this jar.

Thus, the five jars discussed here represent two types of the Ming blue and white porcelain. The first Michigan jar and the Freer piece seem definitely to be earlier Ming products, dating probably from the fifteenth century. The remaining three Michigan jars, exemplifying a comparatively finer type, appear to be of a later date and may well be of the sixteenth century. This attempt at dating, being arbitrary, is based upon the characteristics which point to an earlier Ming esthetic concept of form and decoration, namely, simplicity and spontaneity. A concept which, at the close of that dynasty and during the Ch'ing period, gave place to a taste for elegant shapes and intricate designs as seen from the seventeenth and eighteenth century blue and white and other porcelains. Such pieces are not lacking in this collection, where they stand out in contrast to the sober products of the Ming dynasty.

Here we wish to refer to the fact that the Chinese ceramics of the University of Michigan, representing, most probably, the largest single collection of export wares excavated in the Philippines, include, next to the celadon, a vast variety of the blue and white porcelain. This ware, dating from the early Ming dynasty, i.e., fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, down to the nineteenth century and later, represents common types which were manufactured for the trade at home and abroad. Since specimens with the Imperial marks, or such as were

made for official use, are lacking in this collection, the identification of the material, disregarding the importance of reign periods, is based upon the stylistic criteria and is further aided by two important factors.

The first of these, a historical factor, is the continuous trade which existed between China and the Philippines from the twelfth century, or possibly even earlier,<sup>19</sup> and the importance the Chinese porcelain played in this trade. The second factor, an archaeological one, is Olov Janse's discovery of early Ming tombs on Luzon island which have been assigned by him to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> The blue and white specimens found in these tombs reveal not only the types which are very similar (indeed some are identical) to those unearthed by the Michigan expedition, but aid us in a more definite classification of our Ming porcelain. Finally the pre-Ming and early Ming export blue and white porcelain which has been found in the Dutch East Indies<sup>21</sup> provides us with documentary evidence which throws a fresh light upon the long-debated subject of the early blue and white porcelain.

<sup>1</sup> Carl E. Guthe, "The University of Michigan Philippine Expedition," *American Anthropologist*, XXIX (Jan.-March, 1927), 69-76; idem, "Distribution of Sites Visited by the University of Michigan Philippine Expedition 1922-1925," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, X (1928), 79-89; Kamer Aga-Oglu, "Ying Ch'ing Porcelain Found in the Philippines," *Art Quarterly*, published by the Detroit Institute of Arts, IX (1946), 315.

<sup>2</sup> The material brought from the Philippines consists of nearly 10,000 specimens, eighty per cent of which is pottery containing about 1,000 whole pieces. The major portion of pottery consists of Chinese celadons of the Sung and Ming dynasties; the blue and white porcelain of the Ming and Ch'ing periods; a small group of Ming and post-Ming enamel wares; brown-glazed storage jars with dragons, floral pattern or plain mainly of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a considerable number of ordinary stoneware with a celadon type glaze; and a few dishes of blue and white porcelain of Japanese manufacture. The Siamese wares consist of celadon, brown-glazed and underglaze painted wares, mainly of Sawankhalok origin. The remaining portion of pottery comprises a group of native Philippine unglazed ware and a miscellaneous collection of ordinary wares of undetermined origin, which may well be of southern Chinese, Siamese or Indo-Chinese make. In addition to pottery the collection contains also some minor objects of native Philippine origin, e.g., implements, weapons, jewelry, etc. and some somatological material. See Guthe, "The University of Michigan Philippine Expedition," *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75; idem, "Distribution of Sites . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89; Kamer Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-316.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, I, 99, 100, 158, 164; idem, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty* p. 14; A. D. Brankston, *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen*, pp. 5, 58; E. Zimmermann, *Chinesisches Porzellan* (1923) I, 157; A. L. Hetherington, *Chinese Ceramic Glazes*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> S. W. Bushell, *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 57; Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, pp. 5, 14-15, 27; Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Brankston, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59; idem, "An Excursion to Ching-Tê-Chên and Chi-An-Fu in Kiangsi," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, XVI (1938-39), 19-32.

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm F. Farley, "Fukien—China's Rich New Field for Archeology," *Asia*, XXXIV (Nov., 1939), 643; see also Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 284, where he states that the underglaze painting in cobalt blue was known at Tê-hua in the Ming period.

<sup>7</sup> Speaking of the earlier Ming wares Hobson refers to the biscuit of the footrim as being "smooth to the touch and often almost unctuous," *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, p. 16; see also Brankston, *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen*, pp. 28, 43.

<sup>8</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 202, 224, 309.

<sup>9</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, II, 292; idem, *The Later Ceramic Wares of China*, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> A. Maerz and M. Rea Paul, *A Dictionary of Color*, Pl. 37, A-10.

<sup>12</sup> Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, Zimmermann, *op. cit.*; idem, *Altchimesische Porzellane in Alten Serai*, Vol. II of the *Meisterwerke der Türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel*, ed. by Halil Edhem, pp. 17, 18; Brankston, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Brankston, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74. On the effect upon the wares of the atmospheric conditions of the kiln see also A. L. Hetherington, *Chinese Ceramic Glazes*, pp. 20, 54-55, and elsewhere.

<sup>15</sup> Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, I, 99.

<sup>16</sup> Maerz and Paul, *op. cit.*, Pl. 38, J-10.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 38, D-9.

<sup>18</sup> A similar lotus motif is adorning an early Ming blue and white jar illustrated in pl. 89 of W. B. Honey's *The Ceramic Art of China*, 1946.

<sup>19</sup> Chau Ju-kua, *Chu-ian-chi*, tr. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, pp. 159-162; Berthold Laufer, "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, I (1907), 252 ff; "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines," by Fay-Cooper Cole, *Field Museum of Natural History*, Chicago, XII (1912), 3 ff, 19 ff; Olov R. T. Janse, "Archaeology of the Philippine Islands," *Smithsonian Report for 1946*, published in 1947, p. 347.

<sup>20</sup> Janse, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 353; idem, "An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI (1941), 1-21; idem, "Notes on Chinese Influences in the Philippines in Pre-Spanish Times," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VIII (1944), 34-62.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Boode, "Some Remarks on Pre-Ming and Early Fifteenth-Century Blue and White Chinese Porcelains, with especial reference to pieces found in the Dutch East Indies," *Transactions of the O.C.S.*, XXI (1945-46), 9-17.

## THE NAME OF THE MASTER E.S.

By W. R. VALENTINER

### I.

**I**F we study the cultural history of the fifteenth century, particularly the transition period from the Middle Ages to the modern era, we are surprised to find how similar some of the economic problems of its society are to those of our own time. It was a period of struggle between the collectivist forces of the Middle Ages, as represented by the guilds, and the individualistic forces of the new era, as represented by the budding capitalism of the Renaissance. The difference, however, from what is taking place in our time is that the guilds, which correspond to the unions of our day, were at the end of the development while capitalism was at its beginning. Today the relative positions of the two opposing forces seem to be reversed.

The discovery of America was largely caused by the extension of the local trade of Europe into a world trade, an achievement made possible by Renaissance capitalism. Small wonder that this system, the consciousness of which was innate in the discoverers and conquerors of the New World, should some day become one of its ruling powers, and that the battle against the collectivist forces which revive medieval ideas should be of greater intensity here than anywhere else.

With the end of the social revolution of the working classes in the fourteenth century, the power of the cities on the one hand and the absolutist dynastic forces on the other increased considerably, the one by the development of an inter-European trade, the other by an extension of territory. It is well known that the cities produced a new moneyed aristocracy to which belonged the Medici in Florence and the Fuggers in Augsburg, and that the wealth of these banking houses was fabulously increased by their connection with ruling dynasties such as the German empire of Frederic III (1415-1493) and Maximilian (1459-1519), whose administration of vast and resourceful countries could not have existed without the constant loans provided by these firms.<sup>1</sup>

The guilds with their planned economy were strongly menaced by these two individualistic forces, yet they showed a remarkable resistance and were still the guiding moral force in the world of art. As today, they increased their strength by uniting their efforts in various cities and countries. The regulations



laid down in leading centers like Strassburg and Cologne were necessarily accepted by cities as distant as Magdeburg and Erfurt. (Curiously, a complete unity of such regulations was not reached in Germany until the middle of the sixteenth century when the guilds had lost their importance in the social structure.)<sup>2</sup>

As usually happens when an old system breaks down, the attacking forces from without were helped by destructive elements from within. Although the general rules of the guild were unified, their members were split into many sections and some attached themselves to the opposing forces either of cities or of dynasties. This brought about an increase, for instance, in the individual expression of the sculptor. But it was not in the interest of the guilds that the woodcarver of the fifteenth century should separate himself from the cathedral sculptor and develop in woodcarving a style freed from architectural background.

A most interesting development of the time is shown by the position of the goldsmith, one of the leading craftsmen of the Middle Ages. The more he attached himself to wealthy citizens or dynasts of the new social system, the more independent he became of the guilds. Yet it was only natural that he should work for those who most needed his art, who were the independent worldly powers as well as the dignitaries of the church. As owner of the reserves of precious metal and guardian of the wealth of many of his clients, the goldsmith frequently assumed at the end of the Middle Ages a position socially and politically of much higher rank than that of the simple artisan of earlier times. As the minter of coinage who often became financial adviser to the government he served, he connected the professions of goldsmith and banker.<sup>3</sup> It was not until, as a consequence of increasing world trade, the great banking houses finally ruled the economic life of nations, that the goldsmith slowly surrendered his power to these larger companies.

As an example of the many-sided character of the professional goldsmith in this transitional period, his dual position as medieval craftsman and as modern business man, it is of interest to study the life and art of the imperial mint master Erwin von Stege and in particular to consider the possibility of the once proposed identification of the mint master with the great engraver the Master E.S.

## II.

It seems remarkable that the name of the Master E.S., the greatest engraver

north of the Alps before Schongauer and Dürer, has not yet been discovered.<sup>4</sup> One would suppose that an artist whose work today still comprises 317 engravings (many of which were copied by early engravers in Germany, the Netherlands and Italy) would be mentioned as frequently in literary sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the inferior Israel von Meckenem, one of his imitators, or Martin Schongauer, who followed the Master E.S. very closely in time. As Max Lehrs said in one of the standard works on the Master E.S.: "He was the most original engraver of the fifteenth century, who never copied others while he himself was copied by an endless number of artists." His prints were used all over Europe by miniaturists, panel and mural painters, glass painters and enamel workers, goldsmiths, and especially sculptors. His inventions can be found in the contemporary art of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, and even in Spain and Portugal.

Yet even the locality where he worked has not been established with certainty. Although the two leading authorities on early German engraving, Max Lehrs and Max Geisberg,<sup>4</sup> favor the upper Rhine, particularly Strassburg, earlier writers and at least one scholar of more recent times (L. Kämmerer) plead with good reason for the Middle Rhine and Mainz. Certainly no name in the list of Strassburg artists accords with the monogram E.S. and Geisberg's theory that the artist belonged to the Reibesen family of this city was based upon a wrong interpretation of an object depicted in several of the Master E.S.'s compositions—a writing tablet on the wall which Geisberg mistook for a rasp, the emblem of the Reibesen family. Further, as the second letter of the monogram did not correspond to this name, he explained it as a possible abbreviation of the name of the city in which the artist worked, such as Strassburg. However when we recall the monograms of Schongauer, Dürer, Veit Stoss, Altdorfer, Aldegrevier and others, it seems more natural to accept the letters E.S. as abbreviations of the Christian and family name of the master.

Names have been proposed beginning with these letters and belonging to artists who worked in other South German cities, but either initials, or dates, or places of activity do not concur. To look for the engraver among the painters has proved futile. While it is now known that the Master of the House Book as well as Schongauer and Dürer were both painters and engravers and that the sculptor Veit Stoss was also an engraver, it is generally accepted that the Master E.S. was neither painter nor sculptor, but primarily a goldsmith. Among his prints are several which obviously are models for goldsmith's work and his hard, precise outlines separate his style clearly from the engravers who were



Fig. 1. MASTER E. S.,  
*Coat-of-Arms of Austria*



Fig. 2. MASTER E. S., *Love Scene (L. 212)*



Fig. 3. MASTER E. S., *Coat-of-Arms  
of the Palatinate*



Fig. 4. MASTER E. S., *Love Scene (L. 211)*



Fig. 5. MASTER E. S.,  
Letter from Alphabet (L. 288)

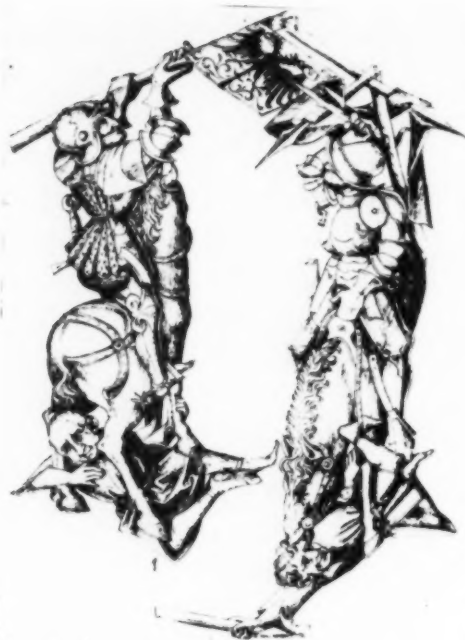


Fig. 6. MASTER E. S.,  
Letter from Alphabet (L. 298)



Fig. 7. MASTER E. S.,  
Letter from Alphabet (L. 299)



also painters, especially the almost contemporary Master of the House Book. Some of his engravings are so small (for example the series of the Passion in the round) that one could imagine that his work included the designing of seals, stamps, coins, book devices, etc. The artist must also have had close contact with book printing, as some sets of his prints could not be understood without text. The engraved *Ars Moriendi* and the early Passion series were originally sold in book form, either with written or printed text.

Among the identifications none has been more ridiculed by art historians than the name proposed by the Viennese scholar A. von Wurzbach, the author of a still very useful dictionary of Netherlandish artists.<sup>4</sup> He believed that the Master E.S. is none other than the mint master at the court of the Emperor Frederic III at Vienna—the noble Erwin von Stege. He based his theory upon the frequent occurrence in the engravings of the Master E.S. of the Austrian coat-of-arms (Fig. 1) and the coat-of-arms of Baden and the Palatinate (Fig. 3) where princes related to Frederic III reigned; upon the connection with the ornaments of the tomb of Frederic III (begun in 1467) for which Erwin received an order for payment to a mason working on the tomb in 1470; and upon the discovery of likenesses of the Emperor and his wife, and King Louis XI of France in some of the prints. The last suggestion, however, is quite unconvincing.

There is no doubt that the Master E.S. had an unusual interest in heraldry and must have lived in a milieu where much importance was attached to this knowledge. This is in contrast to the Master of the House Book who does not seem to have taken it very seriously, and to Schongauer in whose work we find little heraldry. (His series of ten coats-of-arms is a fantastic conception, as Lehrs rightly believes, and does not represent the arms of existing families.) If we examine the complete work of the Master E.S. we become aware of an already outmoded approach to knightly affairs which separated him from the bourgeois mentality of nearly all other contemporary engravers. Although he was undoubtedly very religious, his morals, conspicuously revealed in the frequent engravings of love stories, seem to be dictated by the somewhat irresponsible code of a privileged class (Figs. 2, 4). From a modern point of view his worldly representations of love scenes and heraldic subjects, playing cards (Figs. 8-10) and fantastic alphabets (Figs. 5-7), have even more fascination perhaps than the religious motives in which the artist was obliged to follow a somewhat traditional pattern. These worldly themes are treated with remarkable originality and inventiveness.<sup>5</sup> At the same time they reveal the intensely

rhythmic feeling and the wild and grotesque fantasy of a late Gothic artist who foreshadows Jerome Bosch.

Wurzbach's theory met much opposition, first of all because it was thought unlikely that a mint master might be an engraver. The mint master, however, must not be mistaken for the mint warden (*Münzwardein*) who was a trustee appointed by the government and who did not need to have a technical knowledge of coinage. The mint master was usually a goldsmith by profession. Besides this he was also a technician in die-making and metallurgy. His work was to cast the coins with the help of a few workmen. He received the metal free of charge, going to the mines himself to make his selection, and he furnished the tools and material necessary for the production of the coins. As a remuneration he received a small percentage of the finished coins.<sup>6</sup>

Generally he was a many-sided person since his technical knowledge extended into many fields, from designing and die-cutting to the work of an engineer who advised his employer on mining operations for military and other purposes. The design of the coin was sometimes executed by the die-cutter, but there is no doubt that the mint master, who was usually a true artist, could do it equally well. His work included knowledge of letter-making, seal-cutting and engraving. The amount of practical work he was able to do in the various fields related to minting depended entirely upon the individual talents of the mint master. There was no definite regulation at this time concerning the limits of his profession. For instance, we hear that the Frankfort goldsmith Hans Hug,<sup>7</sup> whom Erwin von Stege later called to Vienna as his assistant, complained while mint master to the city of Frankfort that he was employed in too many different tasks; he was not only a goldsmith, but die-cutter, mint-master, gun-maker, cannon founder and even mint guardian. Several examples of his work (a pectoral with figures, a clasp, etc.) are still in existence and documents show that he executed a Madonna statuette in silver, various kinds of beakers, dies in steel and in copper, enamel work, and also several types of coins. He owned a small bank and exchange office.<sup>8</sup> Another example is the Master of the House Book who must have had an excellent knowledge of die-cutting and gun-making, for we find elaborate and specialized descriptions of these two crafts in his House Book. Yet he was at the same time an engraver, woodcutter and painter. We learn that Erwin von Stege had not only a very specialized knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of coinage and of printing, but also of mining, since in his capacity as mint master he advised his lords in Coblenz, Mainz and Vienna in this field, as we shall see later.

A clever mint master had an excellent chance to acquire a great deal of money, not only as a result of the percentages he received but also because of the opportunity to partake in business affairs. His position was therefore very much envied, but at the same time he was exposed to constant denunciation by colleagues and subordinates who claimed that the mint master took advantage of his position or fraudulently devalued the coins. Erwin von Stege and his father were, at times at least, very wealthy, for besides being mint masters they were also goldsmiths and later bankers and financiers. But all their lives they were forced to war against those who sought to rob them of their earnings and to oust them from their official positions.

Erwin von Stege's dates, as Wurzbach knew them, coincide in general with those of the Master E.S. Wurzbach traced him in Vienna from 1456 to 1474, while the engraver's work, according to Lehrs and Geisberg, can be dated from about 1450 to 1467. But when Wurzbach insisted that the imperial seal made in 1486 for the emperor's son, King Maximilian, was also the work of Erwin von Stege or the Master E.S., he came into conflict with these authorities. Nevertheless, it must be said here that Wurzbach was justified when he remarked that for no reason whatsoever "the experts buried the Master E.S. too early." Lehrs and Geisberg believed that the engraver was born about 1435 (according to their later researches a decade earlier, about 1425). Thus, had he died in 1467 or 1468, as they assumed, he would have lived to an age of only thirty-five to forty years. Their argument is that only the last prints of the Master E.S. are dated (those bearing the dates 1466 and 1467) and that he died soon afterwards, probably early in 1468. In these last years, they argue, he felt so mature in his art that he believed it justifiable to sign his last works with date and monogram. There is no doubt that these engravings belong to his fully developed style, but as there are many unsigned and undated of similar quality, there is no reason why those which are dated should be the last. Stylistic criticism cannot be trusted to such a degree as to make it possible to arrange more than three hundred engravings in an exact chronological order within the twenty years which the authorities accept as the engraver's activity—especially if one considers that only ten of the 317 are dated and these dates refer to only two years of the artist's life.

It seems to me that even from the standpoint of costume a number of the Master E.S.'s engravings can be dated with as much probability in the 1470's and even around 1480; for instance, those prints in which the figures wear the pointed shoes of abnormal length which we find in prints of the Master of the

House Book and in Dutch woodcuts of 1480. The artist's reasons for dating several prints in 1466 and 1467 may be accidental. Three of the four dated 1466 were made for the convent at Einsiedeln in Switzerland (Fig. 15). These were ordered by the convent on September 14, 1466, in celebration of the jubilee commemorating the legendary supernatural founding of the cloister. The engravings represent the Madonna of Einsiedeln and were obviously sold by the convent to the pious during the celebration. It is generally accepted that the artist was never at Einsiedeln. His compositions reveal that he did not know the Madonna statue nor the locality where the celebration took place. It is probable that the legends in Alemanian dialect on these engravings were given him by the Abbot Albrecht von Bonstetten, who naturally would also want the date of the jubilee to appear on them. After the artist had once begun to date some of his engravings, he may have continued as a matter of habit or he may have had other reasons similar to the one mentioned. For example, the engraving representing the Christ Child within an open heart, which is dated 1467, is obviously a New Year's card. Possibly it was ordered by the same convent at Einsiedeln, since the legends on it are again in the Alemanian dialect.

While the dates of the engraver do not conflict with Wurzbach's theory, it is true that many of his arguments, particularly those referring to the origin of Erwin von Stege, are quite fantastic. Lacking any documents on certain points, Wurzbach constructs the artist's origin in Styria from the name Stege and explains the use of the Alemanian dialect on the engravings by referring to a Viennese document that mentions a brother-in-law of Erwin, a Viennese painter Hans von Zürich, who (so Wurzbach claims) might have written these inscriptions. "Never have documents been twisted more frivolously than in the case of Erwin Stege from Steiermark," says the Frankfort archivist Dr. Zülch, who has discovered many new documents on the early history of Erwin.<sup>9</sup> And the short article in Thieme-Becker notes that Wurzbach's identification of the mint master Erwin von Stege with the Master E.S. is "completely unjustified."

Despite this apparently final statement, I am inclined to believe that Wurzbach is right. The documents which Dr. Zülch has since found give a very different impression of Erwin von Stege. Those known to Wurzbach referred only to Erwin's activity in Austria. And although the excellent Frankfort archivist disagrees with Wurzbach's theory, I believe it can be shown that several instances in Erwin von Stege's biography argue in favor of it. First of all is the fact that Erwin came not from Styria but from the Middle Rhine where the influence of the Master E.S. was very strong and where several scholars had



formerly located the engraver. Dr. Zülch concludes his publication of the new documents on Stege with the words: "This knightly mint master was certainly not the Master E.S. of 1466. But his activity as a printer near Mainz at the time of Gutenberg, his connection with goldsmiths and painters speak for the personality of an artist. . . . The large seal of 1460 by Erwin is a masterpiece which perhaps should be attributed to Hans Hug or Erhart von Vehen [two of Erwin's fellow goldsmiths]<sup>10</sup> . . . About 1460 he became vassal to the Count of Nassau-Wiesbaden and the dynast Eberhard of Epstein-Königstein and his son Philip, who were closely related by marriage to the Count of Nassau . . ."

Dr. Zülch calls Stege "the most fascinating personality in the medieval history of Frankfort," and indeed we cannot imagine a more fantastic career and more varied activity. Not only a proud knight, Stege was also goldsmith, mint master, banker, financier, administrator and book printer; at times very rich, at others very poor; enjoying tournaments and carnivals; going to war when an opportunity occurred; impulsively giving up excellent positions, restlessly moving from one place to another, and constantly involved in quarrels and lawsuits with his enemies, among whom were his nearest relatives. Notwithstanding his quarrelsome and reckless temperament, he was sought after by church dignitaries and princes for his exceptional qualities and attracted such art loving rulers as the Emperor Frederic III and his son Maximilian, the archbishops of Trier and Mainz, the counts of Nassau, and the leading families at Frankfort and Cologne.

If we read Dr. Kämmerer's article on the artistic centers where he believed for stylistic reasons that Master E.S. had been active, we find that his career concurs remarkably well with what we know of Erwin von Stege's life although, at the time of Dr. Kämmerer's investigations, no one thought of connecting Stege with the Master E.S. This scholar believed that the engraver was active in the neighborhood of Mainz, that he went from there to Cologne and possibly to the Netherlands, and returned at the end of his life to the Middle Rhine. This is exactly what took place in Stege's career, if we add the two periods of activity in Vienna established by Wurzbach's documents. These two periods can now be dated more precisely, the first from 1455 to 1460 and the second from 1468 to 1473.

Dr. Geisberg, who occupied himself more than anyone else with the problem of identifying the Master E.S., says: "Every new attempt should first of all consider an explanation of the letters NAS which follow the initials E.S. on the late print of St. Barbara (L. 164). When the master has been identified,

these letters will find a natural solution" (Fig. 12). Dr. Lehrs expressed the same opinion but also was unable to offer an explanation. Had the two scholars not insisted so much upon the Upper Rhenish origin of the Master E.S., they might have thought of "Nassau" as the most natural explanation of the letters which undoubtedly refer to a locality where the artist worked or to a position he held. Yet the theory of the Master E.S.'s Upper Rhenish origin is based mostly upon arguments which have little solidity, such as the Alemanian dialect on the Einsiedeln engravings (which, as we have observed, was probably used at the request of those who ordered them) and upon the representation in several prints of the coats-of-arms of South German and Alsatian families whose identification is doubtful. Even if these coats-of-arms have been read correctly, it would not weigh greatly against a Middle Rhenish origin of the Master, since the archbishopric of Mainz comprised fourteen dioceses and extended far up into the Upper Rhine country, into Constance, Speyer, Strassburg and Chur, while the possessions of the Hapsburg emperor were spread over the whole of South Germany. But, as Geisberg himself confesses, "The absence of tinctures which were not established in heraldry until the seventeenth century and the omission of the helms with their crests make it impossible to identify with certainty the majority of the coats; they remain ambiguous, and, after all, one cannot decide whether the Swabian families, or the Swiss, the Franconian or those of the Upper Rhine predominate." Only the coats-of-arms of the highest dignitaries of the Empire; the Emperor, the German Electors and the Archbishop, are really certain.

I was convinced that NAS should be read for Nassau long before I knew of the documents which prove that Erwin von Stege was vassal during most of his life to the Count of Nassau. Not Erwin's family only but also the Rhenish family of the same name which was most likely related to him, were in the service of the house of Nassau. A Rhenish branch of the family had its seat at Castle Stege near Langenschwalbach. Another Stege, Johann, became a citizen of Frankfort in 1462 and was in the service of Count Adolf of Nassau in 1463, receiving from him in fee two houses in Mainz which had formerly belonged to Conrad von Stege, the father of Erwin.

In 1460 Erwin von Stege took up his residence at Castle Reichenstein, opposite Assmannshausen. Dr. Zülch believes that he already held Reichenstein at this time as fee from the Nassaus because of his connection with Count Johann of Nassau, whom Erwin served as financial adviser to Johann's brother, the elder Count Adolf of Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz. Count Adolf was ap-

pointed to this office in 1461 following the Pope's dismissal of Dieter of Isenburg, archbishop since 1459, and he remained archbishop of Mainz until his death in 1475. It seems that Erwin became his mint master in 1467. We learn that some years later he served Count Adolf's nephew who bore the same name—Adolf II. It was he who, together with King Maximilian, pleaded for Erwin's release from prison at Cologne in 1477.

The engraving of St. Barbara which bears the monogram E.S. and the word NAS is dated 1461.<sup>11</sup> This corresponds perfectly with the fact that in this year Erwin received Castle Reichenstein from Count Adolf, shortly after the Count had become archbishop. The inclusion of the name of his lord may have been the engraver's expression of gratitude. Lehrs accepts the date 1461 on this plate as genuine. But Geisberg doubts that it is from the hand of the engraver and thinks it may be a later addition by Israel von Meckenem, who re-worked a number of the original copper plates. It is true that the engraving perhaps corresponds better in style to works dated 1467 and even later. It is one of the artist's most perfect engravings and it would not be surprising if it should belong to his Cologne period, at the time of his release from prison through the intercession of Count Adolf II. The Master E.S. was very fond of the subject of St. Barbara whom he represented in five different prints, some of them depicting her martyrdom and all showing the tower in which she was imprisoned. Perhaps she was Erwin's patron saint to whom he dedicated a print while in prison. The name Nassau is as suitable in 1477 as in 1460 or 1467 as a gesture of thanks to the lord to whom he was particularly indebted in these years.

It has been observed that the monogram E.S. and the letters NAS differ considerably in technique from the signatures on other prints by the master. They are not engraved on the plate like the composition itself but are stamped upon the paper; the monogram is not executed in the large Gothic letters used in the other engravings but in small letters similar to book print. If the print was made in 1477, it would coincide with the fact that at Cologne in this year Erwin von Stege was interested in book printing, and had in his possession a printing press belonging to a Cologne printer, which he used to publish a booklet. In printing the monogram and the word NAS on the St. Barbara engraving, the artist employed either a stamp made up of these letters—which seems to prove that he used the monogram with the addition of the word NAS for other occasions as well—or metal letters which he had at his disposal.

I believe it can be proved that the Master E.S. executed engravings as late

as 1475 to 1480 and that these engravings (the large pack of playing cards) were probably made in Cologne. One of these cards, the "Seven" (L. 277; Fig. 11) represents the coats-of-arms of the Seven Electors. In the center of the arms of the three church dignitaries are heart-shaped shields which can be recognized beyond doubt as those of individual archbishops, the Trier arms containing the shield of Johann, Margrave of Baden (1456-1503), Cologne the shield of Ruppert of the Palatinate (1463-1480), Mainz the shield of Dieter of Isenburg (1459-1461 and again 1475-1480 after the death of Adolf of Nassau who was archbishop of Mainz from 1461 to 1475). In order to preserve the earlier chronology of the Master E.S. as accepted by Lehrs and Geisberg, it has been said that the playing cards could have been executed between March 30, 1463, when Ruppert became archbishop of Cologne, and October 5, 1463, when Dieter of Isenburg definitely resigned in favor of Adolf of Nassau who had conquered Mainz. However, it seems quite unlikely that Dieter's coat-of-arms should appear on official playing cards following his removal from office by the Pope in August, 1461. In view of this, there seems to be no other possible way of dating the engravings except between 1475, when Dieter had succeeded Adolf of Nassau, and 1480, the year of Ruppert of Cologne's death.

Dr. Kämmerer believed the playing cards were executed in Cologne. And although his arguments pleaded wrongly for 1463, another factor is in favor of this locality: the only city coat-of-arms which appears on these playing cards is that of Cologne (on the "Three" and the "King"). Now it is just in the years between 1475 and 1480 that we find Erwin von Stege in Cologne—almost continuously during 1476 and 1477 (in 1477 in connection with a book printer) and again in 1478 and 1479 in connection with other affairs. This hardly seems accidental!

One reason for the claim that the Master E.S. was active on the Middle Rhine near Mainz is the fact that the Mainz school of miniatures seems to have made an earlier use of the master's engravings than other schools, and that the Master of the House Book, who undoubtedly was active on the Middle Rhine most of his life, was greatly influenced by him. Dr. Kämmerer points particularly to the Pontificale of the Archbishop of Nassau (now in the Library at Aschaffenburg) which is illustrated by a miniaturist directly related to the Master E.S. Many miniatures in this manuscript are composed with the aid of early engravings of the Master E.S. or executed in his style without being directly copied. In addition a printed book, *Liber sextus decretalium Bonifaci*





*Fig. 8. MASTER E. S.,  
Playing Card (L. 252)*



*Fig. 9. MASTER E. S.,  
Playing Card (L. 256)*



*Fig. 10. MASTER E. S.,  
Wild Man Riding Unicorn (L. 269)*

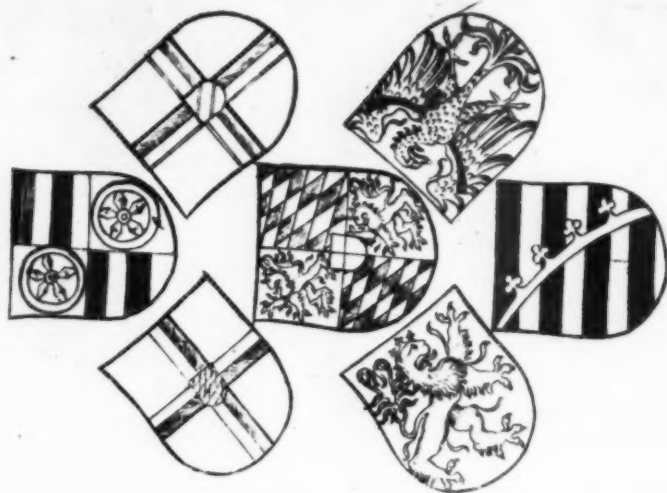


Fig. 12. MASTER E. S., St. Barbara (L. 164)

Fig. 11. MASTER E. S.,  
Playing Card (seven) (L. 277)

*Papae VIII*, published by Fust and Schoeffer at Mainz in 1465 at the time of Adolf of Nassau and now in the Aschaffenburg Library, contains several contemporary miniatures which stylistically are closely connected with the early engravings of the Master E.S. Thus we again meet Adolf of Nassau, whom we know as the protector of Erwin von Stege, in connection with the Master E.S.

It happens not infrequently in the development of art history that historians after a detour in the wrong direction return to the opinions expressed by earlier scholars who had used instinct more than knowledge. This has occurred in the case of the Master of the House Book who was first considered Dutch, then for many years South German, and is now identified with some probability with the Utrecht painter Erhard Reuwich, who was active at Mainz for many years at the time of Adolf of Nassau.<sup>12</sup>

The first students of early engravings, from Nagler to Passavant, believed in a Lower Rhenish origin for the Master E.S. chiefly for the reason that his known early copyists and especially Israel von Meckenem (who owned the artist's original plates) worked in this part of Germany. We shall do well to remember this when we study the later works of the engraver. Indeed it seems more reasonable to accept the supposition that Israel von Meckenem, living at Bocholt not far from Cologne, should have come in contact with the Master E.S. in Cologne instead of at far away Constance, where Lehrs' Upper Rhenish theory sends him. The same authority made a special study of the watermarks and finds—somewhat to his regret—that the late engravings of the Master E.S. frequently use the Gothic "p" which is, as he himself says, "eigentlich niederrheinisch."

In the case of the House Book Master, it has never been questioned that he must have been at times in rather close relation to the Master E.S. We have observed that the House Book itself reproduces some of the earliest contemporary pen drawings after the Master E.S. and describes the minting of coinage and the technique of mining, which would suggest that the person ordering the book, if not the writer himself, might have been a mint master. From this fact Wurzbach deduces a rather extravagant theory of a direct relationship between the Master of the House Book and Erwin von Stege. What Wurzbach did not know is that it has since been proved convincingly that the Master of the House Book participated in the *Neusser Fehde* and made a well-observed drawing of the camp of the Emperor Frederic III at Neuss when in 1474 and 1475 he opposed Charles the Bold. Nor did the Viennese scholar know, al-

though he thought it possible, that Stege took part in this military campaign. This appears to be certain now according to Frankfort documents. In the meantime we have learned of another possible meeting place of the two artists, of which Wurzbach was unaware. The newly discovered documents reveal that Erwin von Stege was in the service of King Maximilian in Flanders from 1480 to 1488, and a drawing (in the Berlin Print Room) by the Master of the House Book has been discovered which represents Maximilian during the celebration of High Mass and taking part in a festival banquet at Bruges.<sup>13</sup> The sketch is so direct and vivid that it can hardly be doubted that the Master of the House Book was also at one time close to the court of the German King. It hardly needs to be mentioned that the Master of the House Book was still a comparatively young artist and represented a younger generation, whereas the Master E.S. (or Erwin von Stege) was at the close of his career.

### III.

If we survey Erwin von Stege's biography we shall find a few more instances which favor his identification with the Master E.S. Born at Frankfort on August 6, 1426—that is, at the time when stylistic criticism has placed the probable birthdate of the Master E.S.—as the son of the rich merchant and mint master Conrad von Stege, Erwin represented the third generation of mint masters, his grandfather Nicolaus von Stege having held this position at Hildesheim. In his youth Erwin experienced the dangers of this profession when his father was more than once captured and robbed by knights who released him only for a high ransom. At one time a convoy of merchandise belonging to Conrad von Stege was looted near Metz. At another time his dies and minting instruments were stolen. A third time he was attacked and wounded near Frankfort. Erwin could also observe the vicissitudes of these financial speculations with the failure of his grandfather's business, the creditors being rival coiners at Frankfort.

We first hear of Erwin von Stege in 1447 when he writes to the city council of Frankfort to defend himself against an insult by Wilhelm Nachtrabe, whose brother Friedrich was also a mint master in Frankfort and, although he had married Erwin's sister, one of Erwin's greatest enemies. We learn that in the following year Erwin's father owned two houses in Mainz. This fact is important as it proves that the Stege family was as much at home in Mainz as in Frankfort and counted among its friends notables connected with the famous printing firms of this city. Johann Fust, the business manager of Gutenberg,



is a witness to a transaction concerning these two houses in Mainz. If Erwin is identical with the Master E.S. we must assume a journey at this time (about 1447 to 1450) to Basle and possibly to the center of the Burgundian empire, Dijon, where he became acquainted with the leading artistic movements of the time. Such a study trip to the Upper Rhine was not unusual. (Dürer as an apprentice traveled the route.) It brought the young artist into contact with the art of Konrad Witz and, if he went on to Burgundy, with the art of Rogier van der Weyden and the Burgundian sculptors of the school of Claus Sluter. At the same time nothing could have been more instructive to a young knight than to breathe the glowing atmosphere at the brilliant court of Philip the Good.

It has only recently been attempted to trace the influences upon the early development of the Master E.S.; and it has rightly been pointed out that Upper Rhenish conceptions intermingle with those of Flemish origin, especially with the new realistic art of the Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden. Since we believe that these two artists are one person, the early Rogier and Konrad Witz remain the two leading personalities whose style seems to have most impressed the young engraver. We reproduce a *Nativity* of the school of Konrad Witz (in the Basle Museum) executed about 1445 (Fig. 14) and compare it with one of the earlier engravings of the Master E.S. (L. 23; Fig. 13). Although the style of the engraver is quite original, the elements of the composition which differ considerably from the treatment of the same subject in a later version are similar to the Basle painting. The motif of both the Virgin and Joseph being represented at prayer, found in both painting and engraving, is unusual; the group of the Child surrounded by three kneeling angels and the landscape with its flying angels and animals are similar. In the engraving, however, two female figures have been added, one the nurse Salome. These also occur in Rogier's *Nativity* at Dijon, although in a very different position. This composition precedes the Basle painting by fifteen years. Other engravings of the Master E.S. (Fig. 16) reveal that he knew compositions by Rogier in which such types in similar costume and headdress appear.

Erwin, who was first trained as a goldsmith, became assistant to his father about 1450. In 1452 he was appointed mint master by the Archbishop of Trier, Johann van Sierck. He held this position until 1454, at the same time assisting the Archbishop in his mining projects at Coblenz. If Erwin von Stege is identical with the Master E.S., these two years in the service of Johann of Sierck would explain the surprising relation of the Master E.S. to two of the

most outstanding works of sculpture at Trier: the *Epitaph of Elizabeth of Görlitz* (died 1451) by Peter von Wederath and the *St. Michael Altar* in St. Gandolph, probably executed by the same sculptor. Both of these works are usually dated in the sixties and both, especially the St. Michael altar, show that the sculptor was well acquainted with compositions of the Master E.S., some of which he copied almost exactly. According to Pinder, Peter von Wederath's style developed parallel to the style of the great Dutch sculptor Nicolaes Gerhaert of Leiden who executed the tomb of Johann of Sierck at Trier (he died in 1462).

Probably as a result of Erwin's excellent work in the service of the Archbishop of Trier he was asked by the Emperor Frederic III to come to Vienna in a similar capacity. At the beginning of 1456 Erwin went to Vienna where for four years he served the Emperor as mint master. To this period belong the prints of the Master E.S. which represent the coat-of-arms of Austria upheld by figures of women—five altogether, one print being a companion piece to the coat-of-arms of the Palatinate, upheld by a woman. This seems to refer to the marriage between the Austrian and the Palatinate houses which took place in 1452 with the union of the brother of the Emperor, Albrecht VI, named the Spendthrift, and Matilda, daughter of Louis the Bearded of the Palatinate. Another engraving showing the Palatinate arms may point to Frederic the Victorious of the Palatinate (1448-1476), whose successor, Philip the Sincere (1476-1496), is represented in a miniature by the Master of the House Book (1480). The arms of the Margrave of Baden can be recognized with certainty in one of the engravings of the Master E.S. belonging to this period. It should be remembered that the successor of Johann of Sierck at Trier was the Margrave Johann of Baden (1456-1503), but it is perhaps more likely that the engraving refers to the marriage of the sister of the Emperor to the Margrave of Baden. She, by the way, may have been instrumental in recommending Nicolaes Gerhaert of Leiden to the Viennese court after this great sculptor had executed in 1467 the impressive large crucifix in stone at her residence in Baden.

Wurzbach believes that the early print of the Master E.S. representing *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sybil* (L. 192) was executed at this period and that the Augustus is a portrait of the Emperor Frederic III. But this likeness is not convincing nor can the print be as late as the second half of the fifties. The *Adoration of the Magi* (L. 26) corresponds much better with the style of the first Viennese period of Stege. And it seems to me that the old king, Caspar, might well be considered a portrait of the Emperor, for his characteristic large

curved nose is much more like the Emperor's than the upturned nose of the Augustus in the earlier print. Further, the old king is placed here in the position of a donor, while in other *Adorations* of the Master E.S. he is in profile towards the Madonna, as is more usual in compositions of this type.

Erwin von Stege accumulated considerable wealth during his first stay at Vienna and later at Frankfort, and became one of the richest citizens of his native city. His tax payments in one year between 1462 and 1464 were 61 pounds. Toward the end of the sixties this fortune began to diminish again.

We learn from a Viennese document of 1456 that he had married a woman of Frankfort, Margarethe, and that the Emperor presented the couple with a house. In this document he is called the "noble" Erwin von Stege. What money Erwin had saved in Vienna he sent to his native city where he purchased a life rent and some real estate. In Frankfort things did not go quite so well with his family. His father Conrad and his brother-in-law Friedrich Nachtrabe, in partnership as mint masters, soon began to quarrel and accuse one another when it was discovered that the mint had been producing coins of questionable value. The guilty person was obviously Nachtrabe, a rather doubtful character (as was discovered later) but in 1456 Conrad von Stege was imprisoned by his lord the Archbishop of Mainz. In Vienna Erwin did everything in his power to induce the Emperor to work towards his father's release; but by the time Conrad was freed, Nachtrabe had managed to take complete charge of the mint and oust Conrad from the business. Erwin found means to prove that Nachtrabe was guilty of embezzlement. Nachtrabe was tortured and confessed. He would have suffered death by fire but for the intercession of Erwin who did not wish the death of his brother-in-law—his financial ruin was sufficient. It cost Stege 1000 gulden to obtain the release of Nachtrabe, who soon afterwards began a court action against Erwin. The process lasted more than ten years before a compromise was effected.

Since Nachtrabe was imperial mint master at Frankfort and had good connections among the German princes, the Emperor was considerably annoyed with Erwin's behavior towards his brother-in-law. It has been contended that for this reason Erwin left Vienna. However, Erwin cared little whether or not he lost his court position, for the city of Frankfort had been trying for some time to persuade him to return. He was wanted everywhere!

The otherwise phlegmatic Emperor was now really angry with Erwin for leaving, since he badly needed his advice in his financial troubles. He confiscated what Erwin had left in Vienna—a box containing jewelry belonging to his

wife who had deposited it at the house of their brother-in-law, the painter Hans von Zürich. He also requested the city of Frankfort to arrest Erwin but the city council refused; on the contrary he was received with honor and offered a donation. Erwin unfortunately spoiled his reputation somewhat in his home city by behaving in an unruly and noisy fashion when entertaining his friends and by participating in tournaments with the young aristocracy of Frankfort. During the carnival of 1460 the guard was called out to quell the brawls of Erwin and his friends. Soon afterwards he participated in a street fight in which several knights were wounded, and from 1460 to 1468 we hear constantly of unpleasant little affairs which were settled in court. Erwin spent a great deal of money and lost much of the wealth he had accumulated in Vienna. He was even at times in debt but was always able to lend generously to his friends, although some distrusted him as a creditor. He appeared frequently in court, once because he was robbed by another knight, another time for unhorsing one of his adversaries, and again for throwing a companion into the river Main. At this time he had a private guard and we learn that a well-known armorer equipped him with armor.

He was frequently present at the Frankfort fair, probably in connection with his banking and business transactions and also because he dealt in goldsmithery. If he made any engravings this fair was an excellent market for them. It is quite possible that he received orders on these occasions such as the order the Master E.S. received in 1466 from the convent at Einsiedeln, dealing perhaps in printed illustrations through the large and flourishing Frankfort firm of Hans of Pettersheim. If Erwin von Stege and the Master E.S. were the same person, it is understandable that at a time when his fortune had declined and he was pressed for money for entertainment, he would devote himself to his engravings as a source of revenue. The years 1466 and 1467 belong to the most productive period of the Master E.S.

From time to time Erwin retired to Castle Reichenstein. Between 1461 and 1463 he became involved in the "Stiftsfehde," the quarrel between Adolf of Nassau and Dieter of Isenburg over the archbishopric of Mainz. Both were protectors of Erwin but Adolf of Nassau was also Erwin's landlord. It seems that Erwin was taken prisoner during this feud while defending his castle; at least, in a later, rather obscure document he speaks of being in prison at this time at Castle Tonnberg. But better times came to Erwin and his wife Margarethe again at Reichenstein. Erwin harbored there his impoverished artist friends, including the Utrecht goldsmith Erhard von Vehen, who was active at



Frankfort and later died in Erwin's place of refuge. In 1464 Margarethe died, leaving a will which is said to be one of the most touching documents of the period. It is a beautiful testimony to the strong character of her husband. A few years later (in 1468) Erwin ordered an altar shrine with carved statues from a Frankfort sculptor and also several stained glass windows containing his and Margarethe's coats-of-arms. All are still in existence, the altar in the Frankfort Museum. It bears not only the coat-of-arms of his first wife but also those of his second wife, Ortrut of Sulz, whom he married soon after Margarethe's death.

An important notice dates from the same year (October 30, 1468), if we interpret it rightly. It states that Dynast Eberhard of Epstein-Königstein, the brother-in-law of the Count of Nassau, owed the syndic Dr. Conrad Humery 100 guilders "on account of Erwin von Stege." Dr. Humery is a well-known figure in the early history of printing for he financed Johann Gutenberg and after Gutenberg's death in February, 1468 came into possession of his printing equipment—type, tools, presses and other material, since Gutenberg died insolvent. This material was turned over to Dr. Humery by Adolf of Nassau with the understanding that it was not to be used in any city but Mainz, nor was it to be sold to any person not a citizen of Mainz, even if an outsider should make a better offer.

There is a possibility that the two documentary notices, dated in the spring and autumn of 1468, are connected and that Erwin von Stege was interested in Gutenberg's press, as we shall see that some years later he himself printed a book. For instance, one might assume that Dynast Epstein-Königstein, whose vassal Erwin became at this time, acquired the printing press from Dr. Humery for 100 guilders and turned it over to Erwin, who may have done some work, perhaps engravings, for the Dynast. This would have been in the first half of 1468, as in July of this year Erwin was asked by the Emperor to return to Vienna and accepted the invitation. As vassal of the Nassaus and owner of houses in Mainz, Erwin might well be considered a citizen of Mainz. It has been suggested that when in the summer of 1467 he gave up his citizenship at Frankfort, he accepted a position as successor to Friedrich Nachtrabe, who had been the mint master of Adolf of Nassau but lost the position on September 1, 1467. However, his work at Mainz was interrupted when he accepted the Emperor's invitation to come to Vienna. Probably Adolf of Nassau, who as Archbishop of Mainz was chancellor to Frederic III, had accomplished a reconciliation between the Emperor and Stege.

The second stay of Erwin at Vienna follows from 1468 to 1474. It is a curious coincidence—perhaps not a coincidence—that the sculptor Nicolaus Gerhaert was asked to come to Vienna at the same time to execute his great work, the tomb of the Emperor, in the Stefans cathedral, which he worked on until his death in 1473. The document of 1470 recording the transfer of 150 denars to Erwin von Stege for the stone mason Peter Musica in connection with his work on the tomb in 1470, was taken by Wurzbach as argument for his identification of Erwin with the Master E.S., for the similarity in the decoration of the tomb to the style of the Master E.S. had long before been observed by several art historians. Dr. Zülch, on the contrary, thinks that the document does not prove anything and that Stege paid the stone mason simply in his capacity as financial adviser to the Emperor. It must be said, however, that Stege was not treasurer but mint master of the Emperor and that we do not hear of any other payments made by him for the Emperor. I believe that the document indicates his connection, in one way or another, with the work on the tomb. This is likely even if Stege and the Master E.S. are two different persons. The tombstone is covered with the coat-of-arms of the Emperor, who is known to have taken special delight in heraldry and emblems. And who was the proper man to advise the Netherlandish sculptor who could not have been a specialist in this field if not the mint master? The fact that the design of the arms and the Gothic ornaments are also related to the engravings of the Master E.S. may be used as argument in favor of the identification with Erwin von Stege, although only in connection with other arguments of greater certainty.

In 1473 we hear of another mint master by the name of Stege in Vienna who was probably a relative of Erwin—Hans von Stege from Marburg. The Emperor was not pleased with Hans' work. Erwin was requested by the city of Vienna to give his opinion and advice in the matter. Erwin sent back word that he was ill but would give his advice when well. However, the following night he left Vienna on horseback and returned to Frankfort. It is one of his unaccountable acts and naturally it had an unpleasant reaction upon his relations with the Emperor. An unpaid doctor's bill was all he left behind in Vienna.

He had barely arrived in Frankfort when the "Neusser Fehde" (the feud of Neuss) broke out. The cities of Cologne, Bonn and Neuss had refused obedience to the Archbishop of Cologne, Ruppert of the Palatinate, and had selected an administrator. The Emperor decided to settle the feud in person and marched on with his army from Augsburg, going first, however, to Trier, to meet Charles the Bold of Burgundy, as his main interest was to marry his son

Maximilian to Charles the Bold's daughter Maria. He then went to Cologne where he favored the party of the Administrator against the Archbishop. The duke of Burgundy sided with the Archbishop, whom he wished to protect against his rebellious subjects. From July, 1474 to July, 1475 Charles the Bold besieged the little town of Neuss on the Rhine. But he was forced to give up the campaign when the Emperor approached the city with a large army and it became known that he had made a secret contract with Louis XI of France to attack the Burgundians from the rear. It was the beginning of the decline of Charles the Bold who is said to have lost ten thousand men before the beleaguered city.

Erwin von Stege took part in the feud at Neuss. On September 21, 1474, his native city of Frankfort provided him for this purpose with three mounted soldiers in brown and red uniforms. In the following year as a reward for his participation in the war he was freed from taxes. But the Emperor had not forgotten the disrespect Erwin had shown him at Vienna. Erwin's old enemy, his brother-in-law Friedrich Nachtrabe, must also have made new accusations against him when he appeared at the Imperial camp at Neuss in April, 1475. Soon thereafter, Erwin, while occupied with shipments of food from Cologne to the Imperial army, was unexpectedly taken prisoner at Cologne on orders of the Emperor.

The confinement in which Erwin was placed was light. He was allowed to spend his time in the company of leading Cologne citizens and artists. On Christmas, 1475 the city of Cologne permitted him to leave the city—against a security of 4000 guilders—until Easter, 1476, in order that he might ask the Emperor's pardon. At Easter Erwin was at Frankfort, but soon thereafter returned to his confinement at Cologne, for the Emperor had shown no clemency, notwithstanding the fact that the city of Cologne and the Count of Epstein-Königstein had tried to influence his decision. The following year (July, 1475) the Emperor even asked the city to place Erwin under closer surveillance. The German Electors and the city of Frankfort then espoused Erwin's cause, and finally, on August 17, 1477, the Emperor allowed his release, with the city of Cologne furnishing a bail of 2000 guilders. It is of importance to our story to learn that the underwriters of the bail were the printers Nicolaes Götz and Hermann Isfogel. There can hardly be any doubt that Nicolaes Götz, here appearing for the first time in the story of Stege, would not have taken over this responsibility had he not already had some profitable dealings with Erwin. What were they? We shall soon hear more about it.

Erwin von Stege now returned to Reichenstein where he printed, without assistance it seems, a booklet which was published on June 14, 1477, *Dialogus super libertate ecclesiastica*, in which the Cologne clergy are defended against the heavy taxation forced upon them. The author of the booklet was the cleric Urdemann and his collaborator the Imperial chaplain Johann Ruch, who must have acted with the consent of the Emperor. The tendency of the publication was in favor of the Imperial party against the city of Cologne.

Now it was the turn of Cologne, thus far on Erwin's side, to be infuriated. He was taken prisoner by the city council. This time, however, the Archduke, later the Emperor Maximilian, and Count Adolf of Nassau demanded that the city release him at once (August 6, 1477) "because we need Erwin in our affairs and cannot spare him." The town refused, promising, however, to keep Erwin in easy confinement, but it was not until October 1, 1477, when Erwin's wife surrendered the remaining copies of the booklet at Reichenstein, that he was released.

Now began a new phase, the last of Erwin von Stege's life, concerning which we are unfortunately not yet informed. He went to the court of Maximilian, whose residence was in Bruges but who was constantly traveling in various parts of the Low Countries, subduing cities and provinces and at the same time warring against the French army. It must have been a life completely suited to Erwin's temperament. In 1478 and 1479 he seems frequently to have returned to Cologne on commissions for the King. In 1481 his lord, Adolf of Nassau, became governor of Gelderland. After this we lose trace of Erwin von Stege. We only know that he was in Flanders in the service of Maximilian until 1488, when he went home to Reichenstein or Frankfort, possibly a sick man. There he died between August and November, 1489.

The years in Cologne, from 1475 to 1478, are of special interest to us because during his detention there Erwin must have had ample time to devote to engraving and printing. If he is the Master E.S., it was at that period that he executed the larger pack of playing cards. We know that Erwin von Stege dabbled in printing from a lawsuit in the following years over certain accusations of Nicolaes Götz. This Cologne printer contended that Erwin had unfairly seized his type and letterpress, carried them to his castle and there printed the booklet we have mentioned. Götz censures the city of Cologne for permitting the release of Erwin without enforcing the return of Götz's property. This was still in 1481. At this time Götz was in the service of King René of Lorraine. In 1483 Götz received the title of Doctor and in 1485 he lived at the Imperial



court at Graz. In this last year Götz again complained that he had not yet received the "100 dictionaries, moulds and presses" of which Stege had robbed him.

W. L. Schreiber in his fundamental *Manuel de la gravure sur bois* (1900-1910) describes the following books containing woodcuts by Nicolaes Götz of Cologne: Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum* of 1474, Albertus Magnus' *Secreta Mulierum* of 1475, Beham's *Duo Kalendarii* of 1476 and the *Ars Moriendi* of 1477 (?) and 1478. Schreiber did not know the documents relating to Erwin von Stege and to the later activity of Götz in Lorraine and Graz. He believed that Götz's business at Cologne had failed about 1479 since no further books were published there by him. The *Ars Moriendi*, the most popular blockbook of the late fifteenth century, exists in many editions. Two of the earliest copies with movable type were printed by Nicolaes Götz at Cologne, about 1477 and 1478 according to Schreiber, for the reason that the type employed in this edition is the same as that used by Götz in his books of 1478.

The woodcuts of the *Ars Moriendi* (Fig. 18)—cuts of remarkable character and expression—are, as is well known, closely related to a set of early engravings of the same compositions (Fig. 17) executed by the Master E.S. in the early fifties of the fifteenth century. A controversy has gone on for years about whether the Master E.S. copied the woodcuts or the Master of the Woodcuts copied the Master E.S.'s engravings. It is impossible to go into this complicated problem in detail. But I believe that a careful reading of the arguments put forward by Lehrs, Geisberg, Cust, Schreiber and Hind will convince us that these scholars are right in claiming that the woodcuts were copied from the more primitive engravings. It is difficult to understand how such excellent students as Kristeller and Schretlen could ever have taken the opposite point of view. The reason may have been that they were deceived by the fine quality of the woodcuts, a fact which seems to speak against this master being a copyist. We can best explain the fact that the woodcuts are copies, yet at the same time full of the spirit of an original and almost superior artist who improved upon earlier compositions, if we accept Schreiber's theory that the Master E.S. himself cut the compositions in wood a decade or two after, or at least made the new design for the woodcutter. Only Geisberg considered this theory; but he did not accept it as probable, because he did not believe that the Master E.S.'s engravings reached the improved perspective shown in the woodcuts. With this I do not agree. We can observe a greater mathematical correctness in the

architectural background of several of the later engravings. On the other hand, the woodcuts are by no means perfect from the standpoint of modern perspective but are as medieval in conception as most compositions of the Master E.S.: that is, they are still built up according to the medieval system of frontal relief planes in which figures increase in size the farther back they stand.

I also believe that the earliest woodcut edition is usually dated too early in being placed around 1450. The difference in style from the primitive outline woodcuts of the middle of the century—Hind's second phase—is considerable; and the frequently used argument of the close connection with the Van Eycks can no longer be maintained in view of our present knowledge of Flemish painting. Certainly there is as little of the Van Eyck style in these woodcuts as in the paintings of Aelbert Ouwater, which for similar reasons were also formerly dated too early. The style is obviously that of the third generation; and 1470 would seem to be more correct than 1450. In this respect also Schreiber with his vast knowledge of early graphic arts had a better instinct than later scholars when he says, "The first edition must have been out about 1465 if not a little later." (Cette édition aura été gravée vers l'an 1465 sinon un peu plus tard.)

The first two editions of the *Ars Moriendi*, the Latin and the French, bear neither date nor name of publisher. Opinion is divided as to the cities in which they were published between the Lower Rhine—the edition of the British Museum was found in Cologne—and Holland and the Southern Netherlands. The fact that the blocks of the first Latin edition had been used for a French edition induced Hind to believe in a possible South Netherlandish origin. But as we learn from the biography of Nicolaes Götz, it could quite easily have been a Cologne printer who had moved his printing business to Lorraine. The constant traveling of artists and printers at this time makes it extremely difficult to define such questions of locality. Götz, a native of Schlettstadt, would have had little difficulty in publishing books in French, especially since he owned a number of "dictionaries," as we know from his complaints against Stege. By this we do not mean to say it is probable that he was responsible for the first editions of the *Ars Moriendi* previous to 1473, the date of the earliest extant copy. But in any case it is an interesting fact that if the Master E.S. and Erwin von Stege are identical, we now know that the artist had dealings with the printer Nicolaes Götz in the very year that he published a new edition of the *Ars Moriendi* which, we believe, the Master E.S. had originally designed. As Götz was under obligation to Stege, as we have observed, Stege may have



*Fig. 13.*  
MASTER E. S.,  
*Nativity (L. 23)*



*Fig. 14. SCHOOL OF KONRAD WITZ, Nativity*  
*Basle, Museum*



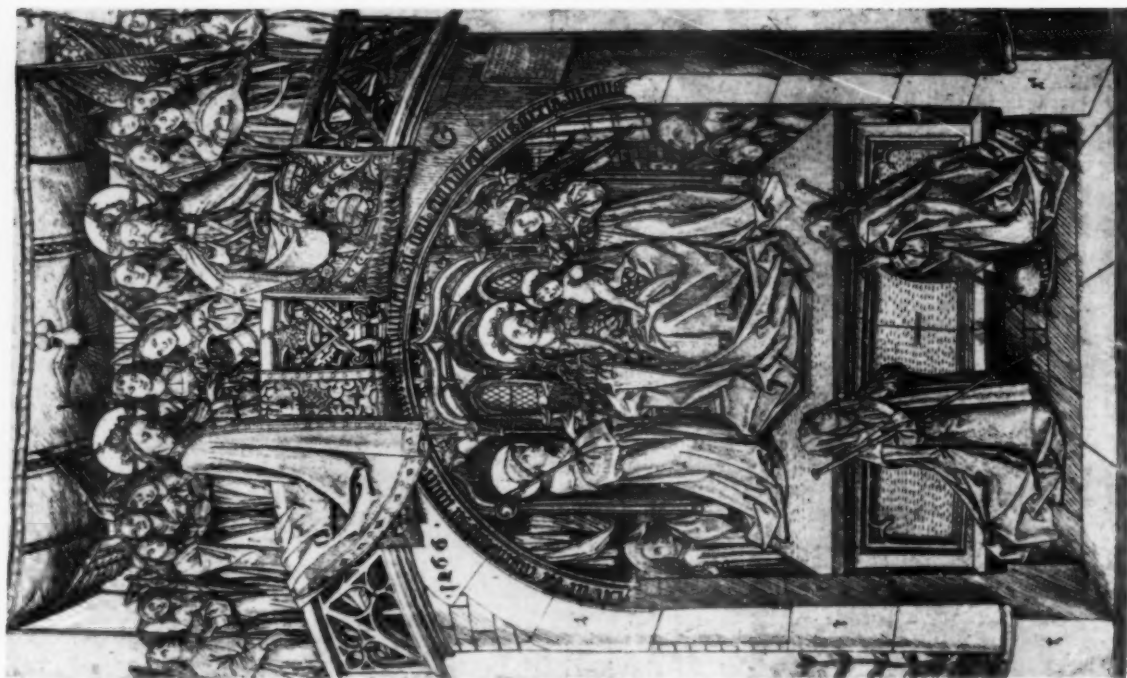


Fig. 15. MASTER E. S.,  
*The Madonna of Einsiedeln* (L. 81)



Fig. 16. MASTER E. S., *The Adoration* (L. 26)



helped him by giving him the original woodblocks or the original designs for them.

We know nothing of Erwin von Stege's activities at the court of Maximilian at Bruges, but we can well imagine that he was more congenial to his new lord than to Maximilian's father. Like the king, Erwin was a type characteristic of this age of transition from the Middle Ages to the new epoch. He was above all a knight, fond of adventure and enjoying the courtly atmosphere with all its fantastic festivities, the love of which Maximilian had acquired from the Burgundians. But at the same time he was alive to the new discoveries of his own age and knew how to make use of them, in accordance with his many-sided artistic interests. In this, too, he was like the king. The impression upon him of Bruges, the richest and most important city north of the Alps, must have been overwhelming. Here, in addition to the works of Jan van Eyck and Rogier, were the more recent works of the great Hugo van der Goes, whom he may have visited with Maximilian in the cloister near Brussels after the artist had become insane. And surely he must have met his own countryman Hans Memling of Mainz, whose art ruled Bruges in the seventies and eighties of the fifteenth century, only to be rivaled after 1485 by the art of Gerard David. Here, too, the art of engraving and book illustration flourished and gave opportunity to such anonymous masters as the Master W with a Key and the Boccaccio Master. Still another countryman of Erwin von Stege, the Master of the House Book, was at this time in Bruges—if only temporarily, as we have observed.

We do not doubt that further documents referring to the life and activity of Erwin von Stege will be found among the archives of Flanders and those families connected with his work on the Middle Rhine, since thus far all we know derives from Frankfort and Viennese archives. It will then be decided whether the identification of this adventurous personality with the Master E. S. is correct. If so, it may explain why so little of the life of the engraver has come down to us. If he was Erwin von Stege, he was not one of those artists who joined the guild in order to pursue their chosen work, such as Martin Schongauer, Israel van Meckenem and even Dürer. He belonged to a privileged class whose members were connected with courts and were thus free from the regulations of the guild. Therefore, while the Master E.S.'s engravings had an enormous popularity among his imitators in all fields of art during his lifetime, the artist himself was soon forgotten, for he exercised his art for his own pleasure without membership in an organization and without training pupils. When in the beginning of the sixteenth century (1505) Johann Butzbach

wrote a treatise on famous artists, he mentions only Israel van Meckenem as the earliest and most outstanding German engraver.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Wescher, *Grosskaufleute der Renaissance*, Basle, 1939; Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> For example the regulations laid down for the powerful guild of the masons by Strassburg in 1439. The Strassburg guild tried to force the guilds of all German cities not dependent upon Cologne, Vienna and Berne, to accept their regulations. These had to be followed even against the will of the ruling powers. It was not until 1563 that the guilds of all Germany were united under the leadership of Strassburg, but a concession was then made to the ruling governments that those who were in the service of the government should not be accepted in the guild except with its permission. This concession made the guild powerless. See C. Gurlitt, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1892, pp. 332-352.

<sup>3</sup> Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 1922, vol. I, Introduction; Ch. J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 1921; *The Art of the Renaissance Craftsman*, Fogg Art Museum, 1937, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstiche im 15. Jahrh.*, II, 1910; Max Geisberg, "Das Wappen des Meister E. S.," *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1901; *idem*, *Anfänge des deutschen Kupferstiches und der Meister E. S.*, 1909; *idem*, *Der Meister E. S.*, 1923; *idem*, "The Master E. S.," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 1922; L. Kämmerer, "Der Kupferstecher E. S. und die Heimat seiner Kunst," *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1896; A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexicon*, vol. III, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas Percy Bliss, "Love Gardens in the Early German Engravings and Woodcuts," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 1928.

<sup>6</sup> A. Häberle, *Ulmer Münz und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1935.

<sup>7</sup> W. K. Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler*, 1935, pp. 118-120.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202-204.

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, I am unable under present circumstances to secure a reproduction of Erwin von Stege's seal, nor am I acquainted with the Austrian seals which Wurzbach attributed to him. For the question of the identification of the Master E. S. with Erwin von Stege the style of these seals will be of considerable importance.

<sup>10</sup> The date is visible in the shadow at the base of the tower beside St. Barbara.

<sup>11</sup> The identification of the Master of the House Book with Erhard Reuwich was first proposed by A. Pit in *La revue de l'art chrétien*, 1891; recently E. O. Graf zu Loens Laubach, *Städte Jahrbuch*, 1935-36, pp. 13-93, has devoted a long article to the question of the identification affirming it with rather convincing arguments.

<sup>12</sup> A. Warburg and M. J. Friedländer in *Berlin Jahrbuch*, 1911, pp. 180-184.



Fig. 17. MASTER E. S., Engraving from "Ars Moriendi" Series  
(L. 176)

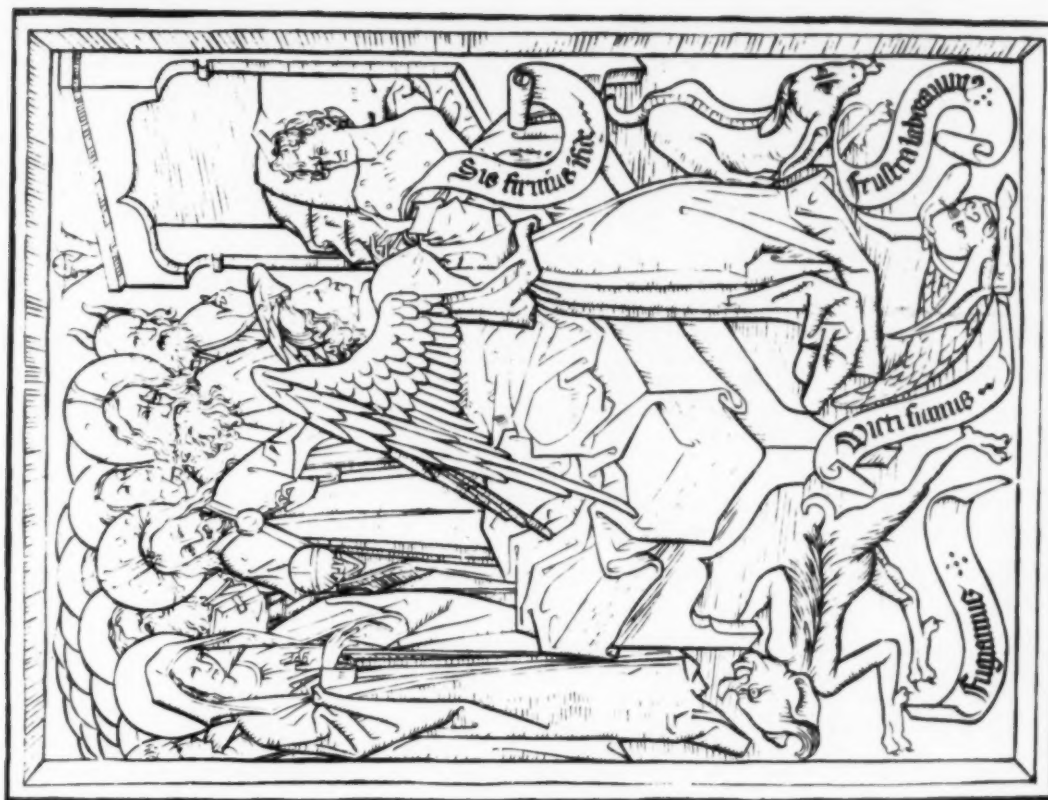


Fig. 18. Woodcut from "Ars Moriendi"



*Fig. 1. GOYA, Dead Turkey  
Madrid, Prado Museum*



*Fig. 2. GOYA, Disasters of War, plate 22, Tanto y más  
New York, Hispanic Society of America*



*Fig. 3. GOYA, Dead Fowl  
Madrid, Prado Museum*



## GOYA'S STILL-LIFES

By JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY

IN 1812, thirteen still-lives were listed among the seventy-three pictures by Goya that he had in his own home.<sup>1</sup> According to Laurent Matheron, the artist "painted a large number of small still-lives" (*tableautins de nature morte*) in the years 1824-1827. Goya, then an old man, would go to the Bordeaux market for a stroll, and would stop "before the best supplied or most picturesque stands; then, back home, he would paint his picture in a trice, between two cigarettes." Matheron probably received this information from the Spanish painter Antonio Brugada, who, as a young man, used to accompany Goya in his walks about Bordeaux. However, the French biographer did not include many still-lives in his brief catalogue of Goya's works, where he only mentioned two *études de nature morte* which he had seen in the Museum of Madrid, and an indefinite number of *tableaux de nature morte* which were apparently in a private collection at Bordeaux.<sup>2</sup>

To my knowledge, only nine still-lives by Goya, or attributed to him, are known today. I can now add to this number four other still-lives in a New York private collection, which I intend to discuss in this article.

Since I am not acquainted with the two still-lives of animals and vases in the Goudstikker Collection, Amsterdam, which Dr. August L. Mayer ascribed to Goya,<sup>3</sup> I shall begin by referring only to the seven which are more generally accepted as authentic. None of these seven pictures is an early work. Dr. Mayer tentatively dated the two in the Prado Museum "about 1800" (Figs. 1 and 3).<sup>4</sup> As for *Plucked Turkey and Frying Pan with Fishes* (Fig. 4), in the Munich Alte Pinakothek, the same writer referred to it as "one of the very earliest composed pictures from still-life in the nineteenth century" while including it among Goya's late works.<sup>5</sup>

*Fishes* (Fig. 6), which belongs to the David-Weill Collection, Paris, has been dated 1824 in the catalogue of the Goya exhibition held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in 1935.<sup>6</sup> The same approximate date was given by Dr. Mayer to *Fruits, Bottles and Bread and Three Cutlets of Salmon*, in the Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland.<sup>7</sup> *A Butcher's Stand*, since 1937 in the Louvre Museum, is also believed to have been executed in the Bordeaux period.<sup>8</sup>

All these oil-on-canvas pictures are of approximately the same size. *Dead*

*Turkey* (Prado) and *Fishes* (David-Weill Collection) are 45 x 63 cm.; *A Butcher's Stand* (Louvre), *Fruits, Bottles and Bread*, and *Three Cutlets of Salmon* (Oskar Reinhart Collection) are 45 x 62 cm.; *Dead Fowl* (Prado) is 46 x 64, and *Plucked Turkey and Frying Pan with Fishes* (Alte Pinakothek), 44 x 62. With the exceptions of the Prado Museum's *Dead Fowl*, the Reinhart's *Three Cutlets of Salmon*, and the Louvre's *A Butcher's Stand*, all of them are signed. The attribution of *A Butcher's Stand* to Goya is perhaps the only one which may need further study—a task which this writer cannot undertake at present.

There are obvious differences between the composition in the two Prado pictures and that in the others. For one thing, the first two represent dead game lying on the ground by a basket; this basket helps to build up the background and to scale the fowl within a definite space (Figs. 1 and 3). On the other hand, the Reinhart picture as well as the Louvre's represent what looks like an unbounded market-stand against an even background, and the Weill's still-life depicts seven fishes heaped on top of one another as if they had been washed up by the waves which mark the line of the horizon (Fig. 6). Even in *Plucked Turkey* (Fig. 4), the background is rather blank, the only reference to depth being the glimmering low line of the horizon.

There is certainly a dissimilarity between the rococo type of still-life as exemplified, for instance, by Chardin (1699-1779), and any of the pictures mentioned. In none of these can one find the uniformity of surface which Chardin succeeds in establishing among dead game, powder-bags, fruits, herrings, turnips, glasses, earthenware and the like by means of three or four hues which light up or shade every object as well as the spacious though well limited background, thus bringing a sense of harmonious uniformity to the seeming disarray of the still-life composition. Hence comes the feeling of quiet so gratifying to the rococo mind, intent on perceiving the shape and color quality of each particular object, while at the same time discerning a sense of harmonious interrelation in the whole. In fact, one may say that the rococo still-life becomes actually an allegory of the hearth, hunting, or any other of the domestic undertakings or comforts of man.

In the two Goya still-lives at the Prado Museum the texture is rather rough. In *Dead Fowl* (Fig. 3), the background is made up of dark greens and of a brown hue which becomes darker about the center; the foreground is of a very light brown which darkens toward the bird's head lying on the ground to the right. The basket, also in a light brown, stands out, outlined as it is by some red

touches, and enclosing a greenish-gray cloth surface with a grayish-white patch in the middle. The colors on the feathers of the strongly modeled fowl are black (bluish or grayish), burnt or raw Sienna and yellowish-white, the wing of the bird in the background to the left being of an almost transparent greenish-gray hue. The red of the crests adds to the variegation of the group, the whole being heightened by yellowish lights.

*Dead Turkey* (Fig. 1) has a greenish-black background which becomes lighter about the animal's dead body; the greenish hue also tinges the brown-colored basket, the edges of which are accentuated by red touches; the brown foreground is lighted up by strong streaks of light. The black body of the dead bird is modeled by means of gray touches and yellow lights which are sharper on the tail, and even more so on the wings; yellow lights contribute to the modeling of the head also, the crest being sharply contoured in dark red and the crop in pink; as for the reddish-brown legs, their outline is sharpened against the shadows they project.

Instead of the actual stillness that we observe in Chardin's pictures of analogous subjects, we find in the two Prado still-lives a tenseness which endows the figures of the dead birds with a dynamic rhythm. The outlines of their wings and legs convey, in fact, an expression of violence which their attitude and grimaces only accentuate.

Contrary to Chardin, Goya does not content himself with defining the shape and color quality of the dead animals in a calm atmosphere. Instead, he emphasizes their awkward poses which retain the gestures of their former vitality. So much is this so, that the grouping and expressions in *Dead Fowl* (Fig. 3) are very much like the grouping and expressions in Goya's *Disaster of War* no. 22, *Tanto y más*, dated 1810 (Fig. 2). The dead soldiers' gestures and glassy or closed eyes parallel those of the dead birds. The limbs of both the soldiers and birds convey the idea of a vitality violently extinguished. Moreover, in the Prado picture, as in the aquatint, the background has been used to create an ample space in the middle of which the dead bodies not only pile up but mingle their strained attitudes. Thus, in each case, the stillness of the composition is disturbed by an unequivocal allusion to the cruelty inflicted upon life. There is, however, nothing sentimental about any of these works. In the aquatint, as well as in the two still-lives, Goya seems to eye sharply the consequences of man's pull toward destruction. The three compositions, in fact, embody an expression of life force as it is turned into the grimace of death under the impact of violence.

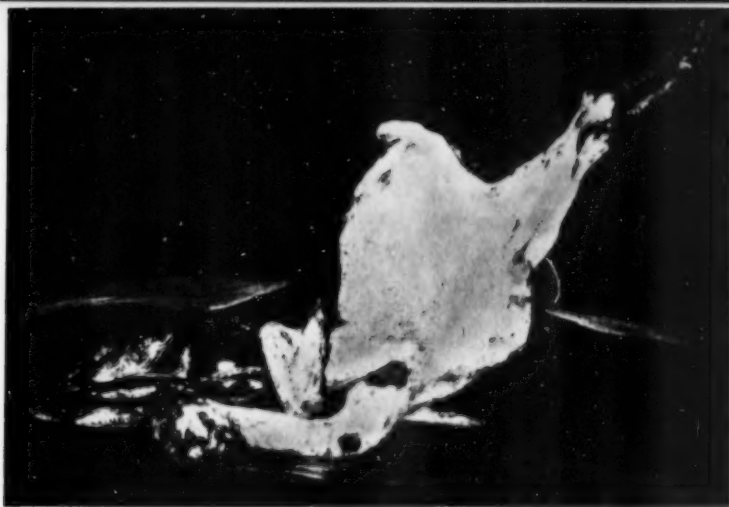
In *Plucked Turkey and Frying Pan with Fishes*, the fowl's pink flesh and the springy fishes' brilliant scales stand out against an almost blank background; the turkey and the frying pan take up the whole field of the composition, which follows a diagonal arrangement with the bird's legs, while a glimmer of light marks the line of a remote horizon (Fig. 4). This gleam from the horizon encloses the still figures so that they stand out in a monumental manner. Such an arrangement is certainly different from the straight perspective setting which prevails in the two Prado pictures. The abnormal spatial relationship thus established between the remote indefinite background and the figures somewhat reminds us of the *Disparates* aquatints which were probably not executed before 1819.

A similar spatial relationship is to be found in *Fishes*, even though the state of preservation of this picture is such that the fish to the left, on top of the others, is scarcely visible, a fact which alters the compositional arrangement. The lighted waves which mark the horizon line enclose also the group of fishes which fill the composition, curving their shapes elastically as if they were still endowed with life (Fig. 6).

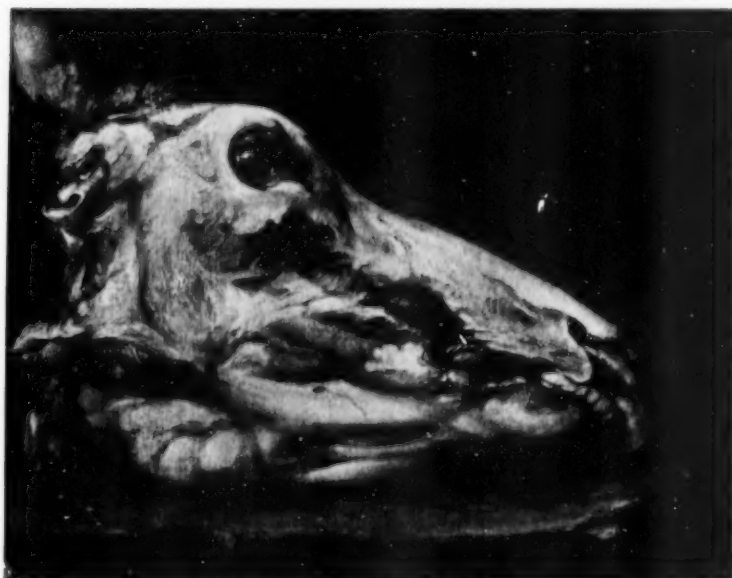
As for *Fruits, Bottles and Bread*, where the different objects are also grouped closely, the shapes are so dynamic that Dr. Mayer could speak of an "almost demoniac liveliness" discernible in the modeling of the bottles.<sup>9</sup> Even in *A Butcher's Stand*, the lamb head and the ribs with the fat-covered kidneys on the unbounded table are so vigorously modeled that they convey a sense of dynamism, much like that in the *Three Cutlets of Salmon*. This seems to lend some support to the Louvre picture's claim to Goya's name.

As far as I know, the four other Goya oil-on-canvas still-lives in a New York private collection have never been published. Three of them are 45 x 63 cm. (Figs. 7, 8, and 10), the same as *Dead Turkey* (Fig. 1) and *Fishes* (Fig. 6); the fourth, *Head of a Calf* (Fig. 5), is larger: 56.5 x 70 cm. Though only one, *A Duck* (Fig. 10), is signed,<sup>10</sup> the attribution of the others to Goya seems easy. For one thing, the central bird in *Snipes* (Fig. 8) shows a rhythmical outline which is very close to that of the signed *Duck* (Fig. 10); for another, the lights on the duck's breast are rendered with the same kind of slightly rough impasto that we find on the breasts of the *Two Hares* (Fig. 7) and on those of the *Snipes* (Fig. 8); in the third place, the energetic lights which outline and model the whole shapes of the duck, the hares, and the snipes are as alike as they could be. Finally, the ground in the three pictures is of a similar green hue, differing in that respect from the two Prado pictures where the ground is brown.

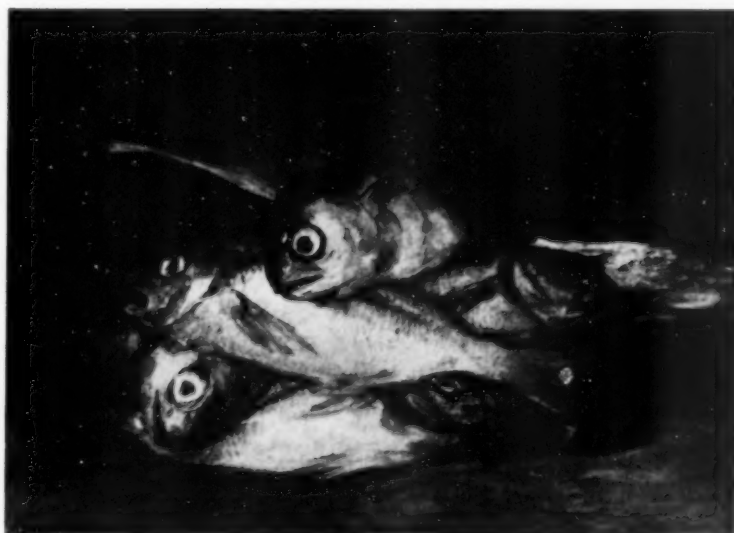




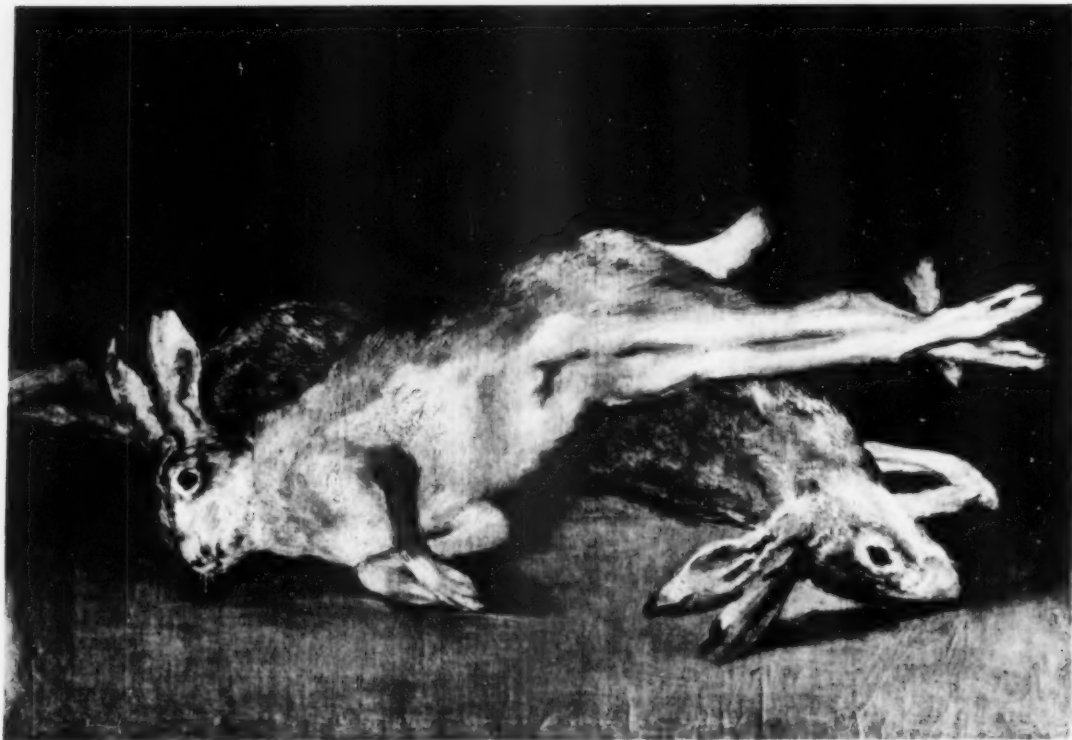
*Fig. 4. GOYA, Plucked Turkey and Frying Pan with Fishes  
Munich, Alte Pinakothek*



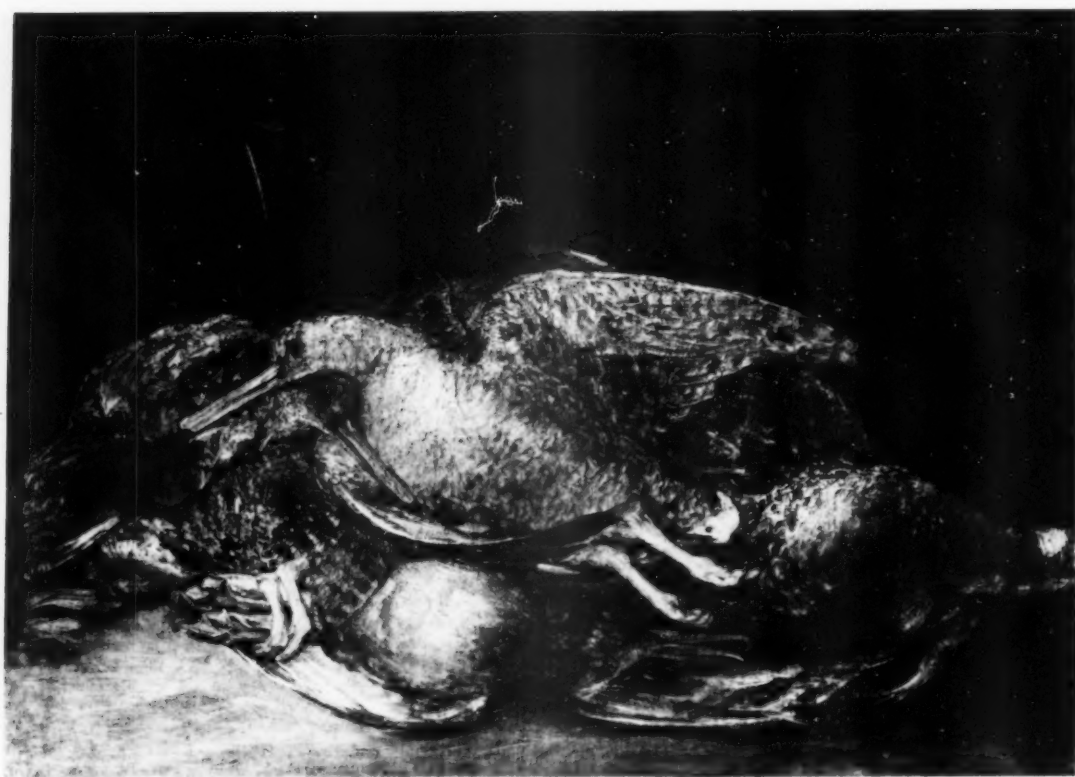
*Fig. 5. GOYA, Head of a Calf  
New York, Private Coll.*



*Fig. 6. GOYA, Fishes  
Paris, David Weill Coll.*



*Fig. 7. GOYA, Two Hares  
New York, Private Coll.*



*Fig. 8. GOYA, Snipes  
New York, Private Coll.*

As for *Head of a Calf* (Fig. 5), its background is of a greenish-gray and the brushwork is somewhat broader. The energetic modeling, however, is quite akin to that in the three other pictures, as a comparison of the strokes of light which outlines the calf's head with that which builds one of the hares' legs will show. Besides, there is in the four pictures a very similar interplay of vivid lights and subtle shadows. There is also a real analogy between the fluid shadow which contours the calf's head and those around the game in the other pictures.

*Head of a Calf* is the nearest in obvious treatment to *Plucked Turkey* in that the animal's flesh appears deprived of its natural coat. But the monumentality of the larger picture does not depend upon the horizon line; it depends, in fact, upon the sweeping lines which frame the yellowish-white areas and the smaller ones of pale red, as well as the gray tongue, thus subjecting the rendition of the calf's raw flesh to a firm structure resting on the surface of the butchers-block. The foreground is distinguished from the background only by the lighter hue of the chopping-block; a few red or white lights on the edge of this help to bring forward the lighted bulk, under which the shadows recede, and the well-rounded, limpid eye strikes a vital note in the skinned head.

The *Two Hares*, lying on a green surface, stand out against a brown background, in the left of which there is indicated a basket in a lighter brown (Fig. 7). Contrary to the method used in the two Prado pictures (Figs. 1 and 3), the background tint suffuses the shape of the basket, while the vivid ochre on the back and sides of the hares stands out, lightened as it is by the touches of white which outline their shapes and model the breast of one of them. This vivid ochre is enhanced by the touches of vermilion which mark the groin of the one resting across the other. The sweeping outline of the two does not have the tenseness that we find in the Munich picture (Fig. 4). Counterpoised as they are, the two hares preserve in their pose the quick rhythm of their vital motions. The full length of one is rendered by the light which goes from its muzzle to the tips of its legs. A few touches of light bring the shape of the other out of the background; its body traces an ample curve from behind its companion to the foreground leaving an empty space between the two, which accentuates their graceful shapes.

In *Snipes* (Fig. 8), the birds are piled on one another against a dark green background where the folds of a curtain are faintly indicated; the ground is of a lighter green streaked with yellow lights, though not so roughly as in *Dead Turkey* (Fig. 1). The grouping of the snipes is very different from that

of *Dead Fowl* (Fig. 3) in that the bulk of the dead bodies is made lighter by means of the sharp-edged, curving wings which seem to carve a free space about each one of them. The red bills of the birds as well as their clearly delineated legs, red or brown, make the composition more distinct. As for the modeling, it is made up of short strokes of yellow-ochre and gray with some light touches of vermilion, green and blue adding buoyancy to the whole.

Such a way of modeling is not too far from that used by Goya in one of his last pictures, *The Milk-Maid of Bordeaux*, now in the Prado Museum (Fig. 9). In this painting a young woman, wrapped in a pelerine, is depicted riding on a mount which is not visible. The volume of her figure, made up of short strokes of blue, yellow, gray, brown, black, and a few violet streaks, stands out against a greenish-blue sky. For all its gracefulness, the figure attains actual monumentality, and its bent head—the cheeks, lips and nostrils clearly rendered in various hues of vermilion on the pinkish face—stands freely against the light background.

The *Duck* lies on an irregular ground of a green color, one of its wings spreading, as if flapping, against a much darker green background (Fig. 10). The red beak and legs accentuate the diagonal rhythm of the body. The artist, by bringing forward the duck's lighted breast—composed of whites, with yellowish lights—and making the blackish neck and the legs recede, has succeeded in bringing both monumentality and lightness into the composition. In this painting, perhaps more than in any of the others, Goya has achieved an expression of inextinguishable gracefulness, as he has represented the body weighed down by death's stillness and yet still yielding to a vital rhythm.

It is rather difficult to suggest with certainty a date for these four still-lives. One can, however, point out some analogies between them and other works by Goya. *The Head of a Calf* may be related to *Plucked Turkey* as has been indicated before. As for the other three, it is obvious that, though their subject is close to the two Prado pictures, their treatment is quite different. In fact, in both *Dead Fowl* (Fig. 3) and *Dead Turkey* (Fig. 1), Goya emphasized the idea of death violently descended upon life, and it is violence, abhorrent to reason, which forms the actual theme of these two pictures, as in *Disasters of War*.

In *Plucked Turkey and Frying Pan with Fishes* (Fig. 4), *Head of a Calf* (Fig. 5), and *Three Cutlets of Salmon*, the idea of violence gives way to one of enduring energy, as Goya has endowed his rendering of raw flesh with a dynamic modeling which shakes the still objects out of their inertness. Thus,



the three pictures actually embody an expression of undying vitality, which is very much the same as the one prevailing in *Fruits, Bottles and Bread*.

In *Two Hares* (Fig. 7), *Snipes* (Fig. 8), and *A Duck* (Fig. 10)—and even in *Fishes* (Fig. 6)—the still bodies which fill the field of the composition retain, even when sharply counterpoised, the grace of the animals' vital form. And it is this idea of indestructible grace which becomes the theme of these Goya still lifes. As in the *Milk-Maid of Bordeaux* (Fig. 9), so comely on her invisible mount in spite of the heavy task under which she bends, the hares, fish, and game in these pictures preserve the comeliness and *élan* of their shapes. In such works Goya seems to have faced the romantic spiritual attitude which led to seeing in everything comely or alive the imprint of fateful hardship or death. Yet, clinging to his rationalist and sensuous background, he corrected such a view by affirming the indestructible rhythm of the vital form, and by not allowing it to be dissolved under the burden of life, as in the *Milk-Maid*, or even under the stillness of death as in the still-lives.

294<sup>1</sup> F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "Como vivía Goyá," *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1946, pp. 73-109. The inventory of Goya's household belongings, drawn in 1812, included twelve pictures described as *bodegones* and one as *Unos pájaros*.

<sup>2</sup> *Goya*, Paris, 1858, pp. unnumbered. The two Goya still-lives now in the Prado were not acquired by that Museum until 1900.

<sup>3</sup> August L. Mayer, *Francisco de Goya* (tr. Robert West), London and Toronto, 1924, p. 133. There is another still-life attributed to Goya in a private collection at Barcelona, Spain. I know this picture, which seems to be an 18th century composition, only from a small photograph.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133, and catalogue nos. 732a and 732b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133 and catalogue no. 732.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibliothèque Nationale. Goya. Exposition de l'œuvre gravé, de peintures, de tapisseries et de cent dix dessins du musée du Prado*, Paris, 1935, no. 354. See also Gabriel Henriot, *Collection David-Weill*, Paris, 1926, I, 395, where it is said that there are six, instead of seven, fishes in the composition.

<sup>7</sup> August L. Mayer, "Three Pictures by Goya," *Burlington Magazine*, December, 1939, p. 240. See also *Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur*, Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1939-40, nos. 110 and 111.

<sup>8</sup> *Peintures de Goya des collections de France*, Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1938, no. 24.

<sup>9</sup> *Three Pictures by Goya*.

<sup>10</sup> The signature, in large characters, is above the duck's left wing.



*Fig. 9. GOYA, The Milk-Maid of Bordeaux  
Madrid, Prado Museum*



*Fig. 10. GOYA, A Duck  
New York, Private Coll.*



Fig. 1. ATTRIBUTED TO FRANÇOIS BOUCHER,  
*Frontispiece to Rodogune*  
*Detroit, Private Coll.*



#### SHORTER NOTES

With this issue the Editors initiate a department of SHORTER NOTES. This new section of *The Art Quarterly* will henceforth be devoted to notices of recent discoveries, new attributions, important material brought to light by current exhibitions, and other similar information. These Notes will vary in length from a few paragraphs to two or three pages.

The Editors will be pleased to consider MSS. and photographs suitable for publication in this department.

### MADAME DE POMPADOUR AND THE RODOGUNE FRONTISPIECE

By PAUL L. GRIGAUT

IT IS difficult not to agree with the majority of the critics who have concerned themselves with Madame de Pompadour's engraved work: with a few exceptions, the etchings and other engravings of the "Minerve du Siecle" the "Minerve bien faitrice et Protretrice," as her protégé Guay called her, are as weak as Guay's spelling, and would evidently have been worse if the hand of the Marquise had not been led, with a great deal of tact no doubt, by some technician of greater talent than hers. The part played by that artist—Boucher, according to some; Cochin, others claim—is one of these minor problems of art history on which it is pleasant to touch *en passant*, but which, due to the meagerness of the available information and the little value of the work concerned, can best be compared, as Voltaire said of Marivaux' plots, to "des œufs de mouche sur des toiles d'araignée." Yet, no problem involving a Boucher or a Cochin can be wholly unimportant. The publication here of a rare impression of the frontispiece to the "Versailles" *Rodogune*, stated to be Madame de Pompadour's work, and hers alone, may therefore be of some interest.

This Versailles edition of Corneille's tragedy is one of the bibliographical rarities of the eighteenth century: twenty copies only were printed, for the friends of the King's favorite and for Louis XV himself, who, it is said, was supposed to find in the plot allusions to his relations with Madame Pompadour. The Marquise had it composed "sous ses yeux" in her own apartment in the

northern wing of the palace—"Au Nord," as the title page indicates. *Rodogune* was not Madame de Pompadour's first attempt at printing: the *Song of Songs* and the *Précis de l'Ecclésiaste*—of all texts—paraphrased by Voltaire—of all people—had preceded it. The last effort of the Marquise in that field, I believe, it is also the most successful product of her press. Upon receiving his copy of the *Ecclésiaste*, Voltaire had complained to Thiériot, his more orthodox publisher, that the text was full of misprints and that whole lines were missing at the bottom of certain pages. But he could not have helped being satisfied with Madame de Pompadour's edition of this tragedy by his hero and rival Corneille. The book is longer than its predecessors; each one of its eighty pages, a masterpiece of typography printed with silver type, is framed in an exquisitely engraved border; and a large engraving, the subject of this note and by far the finest and most ambitious work with which Madame de Pompadour's name is linked, was used as a frontispiece.

In its final state, which is the only one hitherto described (Fig. 2), the engraving is lettered thus: F. Boucher inv. et delin. 1759.<sup>1</sup> Gravé à l'eau forte par Me. de Pompadour. Retouché par C. N. Cochin. Then follows the appropriate quotation from the last act of *Rodogune*.

This is the only case where Madame de Pompadour's name is so mentioned. Usually a "Guay, del." or a "Boucher, del.," followed by "Pompadour, sculpt.," is the only *adresse*; the part played by the *retoucheur* is in all cases carefully ignored, although even the panegyrists of the Marquise agree that this *deus ex machina* was necessary. Thus the earlier state of *Rodogune* should give us concrete information about Madame de Pompadour's actual role in this charming *jeu à trois* played with two discreet courtiers. No impression of such a state, it seems, was known to have survived. M. Cohen is apparently the only critic who mentions its possible existence; in his *Guide de l'Amateur de livres à gravures*, he states that "la figure . . . de frontispice . . . existerait à l'état d'eau-forte," as though he had never seen an impression. Neither the British Museum nor the Bibliothèque Nationale own it, and Mr. A. Hyatt Mayor kindly informs me that even Madame de Pompadour's own copy, described in one of the *Bulletins Morgand* (1883-86), had only the finished engraving. The two impressions in the Morgan Library are also *retouché* impressions. Yet the etching state of the frontispiece existed before the *adresse* and all other inscriptions; this writer came across it by accident in a Detroit private collection formed in the United States for study purposes. The print is said to have come from England about thirty years ago (Fig. 1).

Even according to the strict standards by which we judge French engravings of the eighteenth century—the classical period of the art—this etched frontispiece is excellent. What it may lack in picturesqueness in our eyes on account of its classical subject, it makes up for by its masterly technique, the lightness of the biting, the pleasing “painterly” treatment of highlights and strong shadows. Only an accomplished craftsman would plant such figures so solidly against such a background and invent such subtle varieties of blacks and grays. There is hardly any sign of “repair” or *repentir*. Can the Marquise herself have etched this imposing work, as the words “Gravé à l’eau forte par Me. de Pompadour” so categorically affirm? It is hard to believe, if we compare the perfect *mise en page* and the skill of this illustration with Madame de Pompadour’s somewhat stiff and meagre treatment of the other etchings which form her *œuvre*. Some of these engravings—those reproducing Boucher drawings or etchings, it should be noticed—are closest in style and quality to the *Rodogune* frontispiece; the others, which form the great majority of the *Suite d’Estampes . . . par Madame de Pompadour*, and are copied after Guay’s intaglios or Vien’s allegorical drawings, are obviously the work of an amateur.

Did Cochin, “le professeur de gravure en titre” of the Marquise, as Portalis and Beraldi call him, etch the preliminary drawing? It may be doubted. Madame de Pompadour could not have accepted such blatant flattery from the artist who is specifically stated to have “retouched” the preliminary etching. She was too intelligent and had too great a sense of her dignity to stoop to what in herself she would consider obvious trickery: any game of make believe must at least have a basis of some kind. Flattery, Madame de Pompadour wanted, but it had to be subtle. More important, Cochin’s “handwriting” is different from the technique used in the Detroit impression. In Cochin’s “préparations à l’eau-forte,” I have rarely found, for instance, the peculiar small dots which, in the *Rodogune*, are used to give fullness and solidity to the faces, or the intricate shadows in architectural backgrounds which, without strict delineation, give the columns of Cleopatra’s palace their massive quality. In the etching states of Cochin’s engravings, even in such minuscule trifles as the charming “Usages des Orgues sous Pépin in 757” (!), there is an emphatic touch, at times a thickness of outline, which do not exist in the larger *Rodogune*. On the other hand, Cochin characteristics are quite evident in the finished state of the frontispiece.

It is tempting to suppose that the artist responsible for the Detroit impression was Boucher himself. A priori this is far from impossible. Today we think

of Boucher primarily as a painter; but we should not forget that he is also one of the great etchers of the eighteenth century—the best interpreter of Watteau's drawings—and that, even in terms of numbers, his *œuvre*, comprised of nearly two hundred engravings, is impressive. Purely an etcher, according to Portalis and Beraldi, he rarely or never worked with the burin; even the *Andromède*, which he had etched, was completed by Aveline. It is also known that he collaborated with Cochin in the same manner. For Boucher, to etch "n'était qu'un jeu." For a long time before *Rodogune* was printed he had been associated with the Marquise. The earliest engravings of the Pompadour *Suite*, dated 1751, are copies of Boucher drawings and etchings, and possess suspiciously the qualities which we find in Boucher's etchings. It may be also noted here that Cochin, the Marquis de Vandières' mentor, came back from Italy only in September, 1751; in all likelihood, therefore, he could not have helped the Marquise in her etchings of that year, which count among the best of the *Suite*. It is only later that Madame de Pompadour "toucha au burin," and undoubtedly under Cochin's guidance. What could be more natural, from her point of view, than to accept Boucher's "guidance," or more, in the most ambitious of her etchings, the frontispiece which the court painter himself had designed? As the Goncourts put it, Boucher was the "professeur d'eau-forte" of the Marquise, "her conseiller intime." He was never closer to Madame de Pompadour than in these years, and he was staying at Versailles at the time when the Marquise printed *Rodogune*.

There are still other reasons for adding to Boucher's *œuvre* the early state of *Rodogune*. Quite different in technique, as we have seen, from the Marquise's "faibles efforts" and most of Cochin's works, it presents many points of similarity with Boucher's known etchings. A few of these may be mentioned here. The very personal, short wavy lines which Boucher uses even in his earliest etchings are present here, adding "body" and lightness to the ensemble. The great decorator's love of silk and flowing draperies, so visible in *Le Printemps* and the etched state of Watteau's *Troupe Italienne*, gives *Rodogune* the fluid quality which, enhanced by the poetical haziness of the background, is in fact its main characteristic. The sensitive hands, which help to explain the emotions of the characters, have their counterparts in numberless etchings of Watteau's great follower. The subtle varieties of tones, the endless variations of shadows, with their lozenge-shaped cross-cross lines and *moiré* effect, are the work of a rococo painter. On the other hand the completed state of the *Rodogune* (as well as most of Cochin's engravings after his return from Italy) betrays the





Fig. 2. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, Mme  
DE POMPADOUR, C. N. COCHIN,  
*Frontispiece to Rodogune*  
New York, Pierpont Morgan  
Library

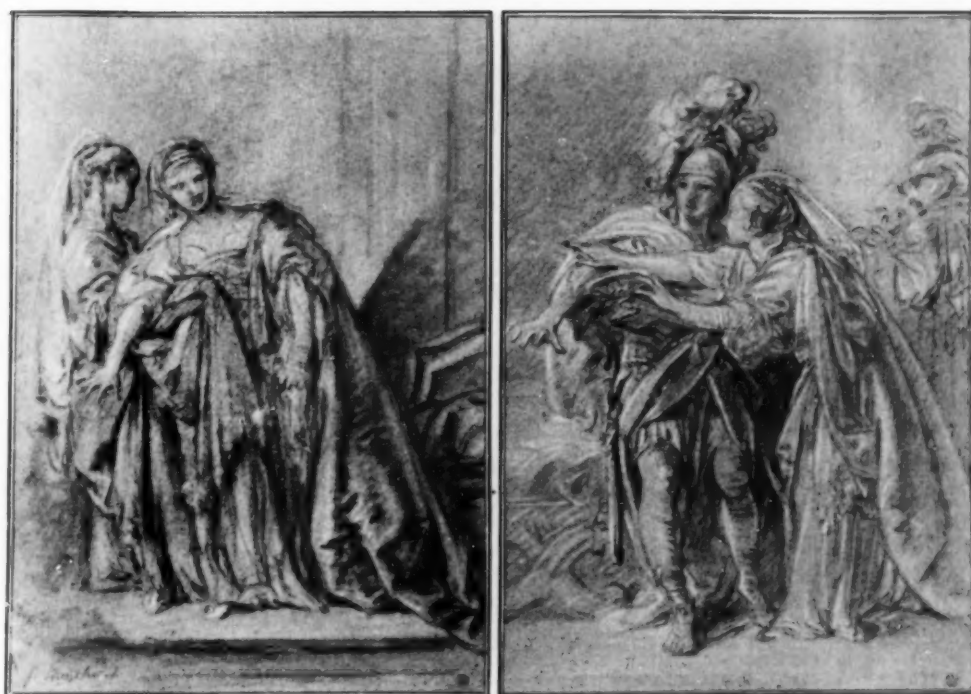


Fig. 3. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, *Preliminary Sketches for Rodogune*  
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig. 1. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO CHARLES WILLSON PEALE,  
 Portrait of William Tilghman  
 Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania



Fig. 2. REMBRANDT PEALE, Portrait of William Tilghman  
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

classical conception of the illustrator of *Les Antiquités d'Herculanum*. Boucher's *pointe légère et spirituelle*, as Mariette called it, his skill and refinement which are so evident in the frontispiece to the *Suite d'Estampes*, generally attributed to him, give the *Rodogune* a similar charm.

Thus it may be that Madame de Pompadour's masterpiece should be taken from her. By doing so, we would add to Boucher's *œuvre* an engraving worthy of him, and to his reputation one more proof of his *galanterie*.

<sup>1</sup> Two drawings connected with the *Rodogune* frontispiece, formerly in the de Graf and Wauters collections (illustrated and discussed in Lee's *Art of the Great Masters*, London, 1913, pp. 150-152), are preserved in the Morgan Library (Fig. 3); they are in reverse from the engraving. Too sketchy for purposes of reproduction in etching, the Morgan drawings are evidently preliminary studies; they were apparently followed by at least one full scale pen and ink drawing, with which the Morgan drawings have usually been mistaken. This final sketch is mentioned in André Michel's large edition of his *Boucher* (no. 2615) as having passed through the du Sartel and Muhlbacher collections. This du Sartel drawing, or another very similar, was in the Montgermont sale in 1911. (Most of the information above was gathered with the help of Mrs. H. W. Howells, Jr., of the Frick Library.) It may be noted here that the Boucher composition is close to the Coypel cartoon for one of the *tentures d'opéra*; the completed painting, delivered in 1749, is in Grenoble.

## COLONIAL AND FEDERAL FACES: A NOTE ON CONTRASTS IN THE PORTRAITS OF CHARLES WILLSON, JAMES AND REMBRANDT PEALE

By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

IN the changed outlook of two successive generations there is a clue that can help in distinguishing between the work of Charles Willson, James and Rembrandt Peale. Charles Willson Peale's heyday as an artist was in the Colonial period, when he had not yet come to think of art as an auxiliary to Natural History and the Philosophy of Reason. Colonial America, of course, wished to appear in the best and latest European taste. These Americans imitated a culture whose polish had been gradually acquired, and which represented the stability of a long-established civilization. Peale came back from London in 1769 ready and able to paint them as they wished themselves to be seen—with an easy casual realism, with not-too-formal grace, with the airs of self-assurance and security. His faces show a benign affability, and with a more genuine effect than his predecessors in the middle colonies had achieved. The old work now seemed pompous and absurd, and he became at once the fashionable portrait painter.

Here, and throughout his long career, amiability is almost without exception a hallmark of his work. Some of his faces are frankly laughing or smiling. But for the most part he drew mouth and eyes with a subtle cheerfulness, a

feeling of pleasure that has its answer inevitably in the beholder. His *William Buckland*, for instance, is openly merry, while his *Margaret Harwood* looks at us with a quiet, serious dignity and yet, at the same time, a charming pleasantness. His portraits of Washington reveal again and again a twinkle in the eye that no other painter showed.

It is not only that Washington rarely smiled. Other painters, coming after the war, were depicting a new mood, in which one did not smile. The pleasant, ingratiating Colonial had gone and the new American was bold and free. The old expressions seemed weak, and we find painters adding strength to the features of their men, and to their women new romantic airs. James Peale shows now on canvas a serious, earnest countenance, with little or nothing of his brother's attempt to charm. The miniatures of the two show a contrast of another sort. A miniature was painted not for the world and posterity but for one beloved person. James tried here to acquire his brother's knack for painting a mouth that should be pleasant without actually smiling. The result was too often only a stylized form of mouth by which the bulk of his work can be recognized.

Charles Willson Peale's miniatures had been tiny, jewel-like things. He carried the blue or green of his backgrounds into the shadows of the face, giving the whole a misty, opalescent quality appropriate to its size. He continued (for even after "retiring" from this branch of art in his brother's favor in 1786, he still painted miniatures) to paint on the little ivories, disdaining the new fashion for much larger ones. James, however, worked in the larger size, and the new style may, again, be traced to the martial feeling of the age, to the splendor of the new uniforms, to those enormous decorations which the warrior chieftains now hung about their necks, and which you might find on any one of them, from Lord Nelson to Red Jacket.

Young Rembrandt Peale's early canvases went farther than those of James Peale in the new military feeling. Rembrandt Peale's generals are stern and proud. His savants and men of affairs, serious and thoughtful. Occasionally a face is thoughtful and sad. His women smile sometimes, but with a languid grace.

Charles Willson Peale was, even more than the other two, a Jeffersonian Democrat, a revolutionist and innovator. Yet he continued to paint the mild affability that had brought him his first success in art, that seemed so well to combine truth with beauty. To him the new poses must have savored of the artificiality he had supplanted in 1769.



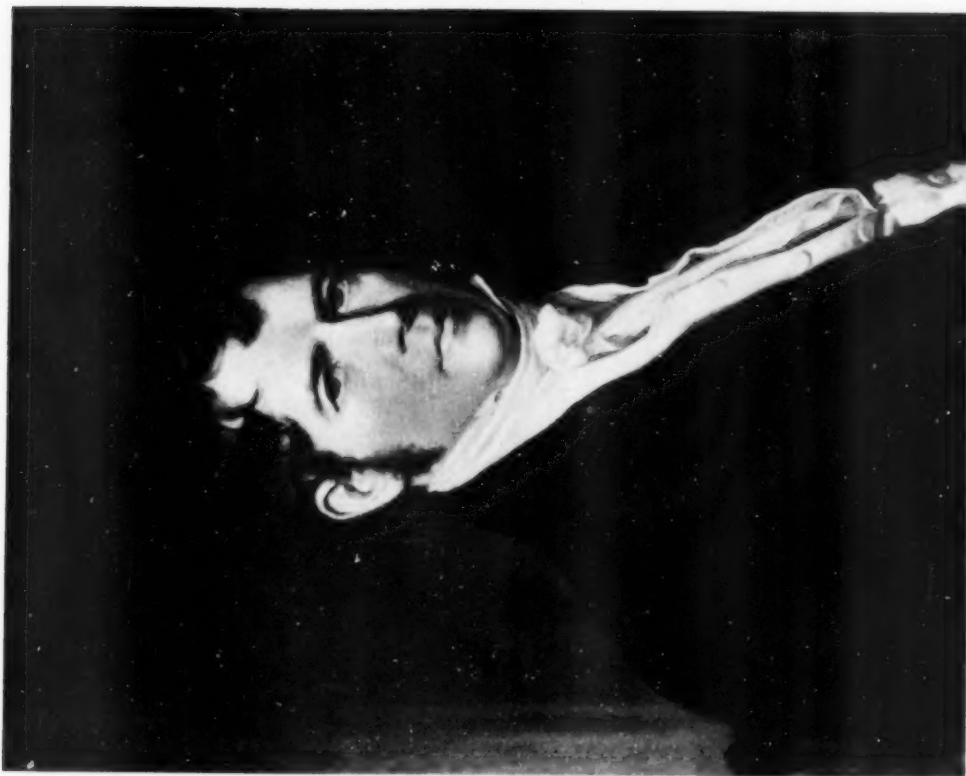


Fig. 3. REMBRANDT PEALE, Robert Fulton  
Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 4. CHARLES WILLSON PEALE, Robert Fulton  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

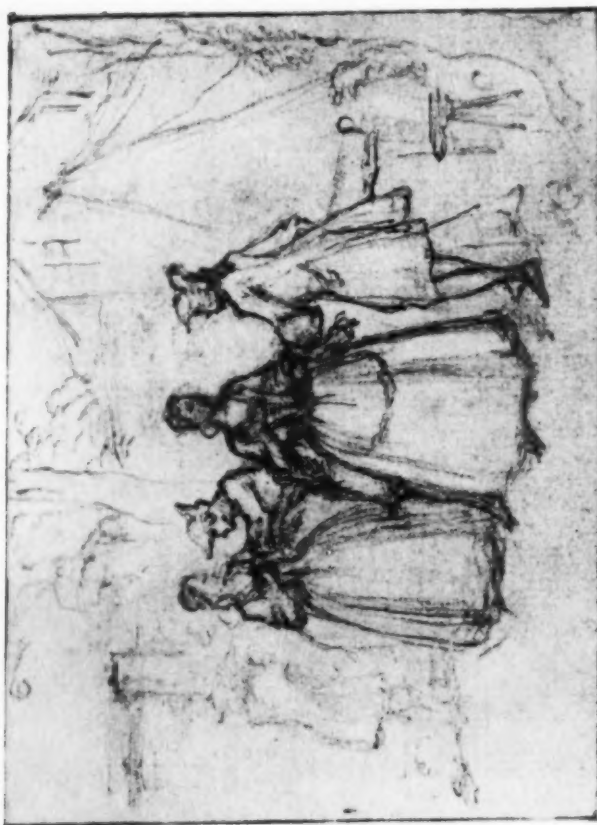


Fig. 1. GRAVELOT, Preparatory Sketch for *The Suspicious Fair*  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

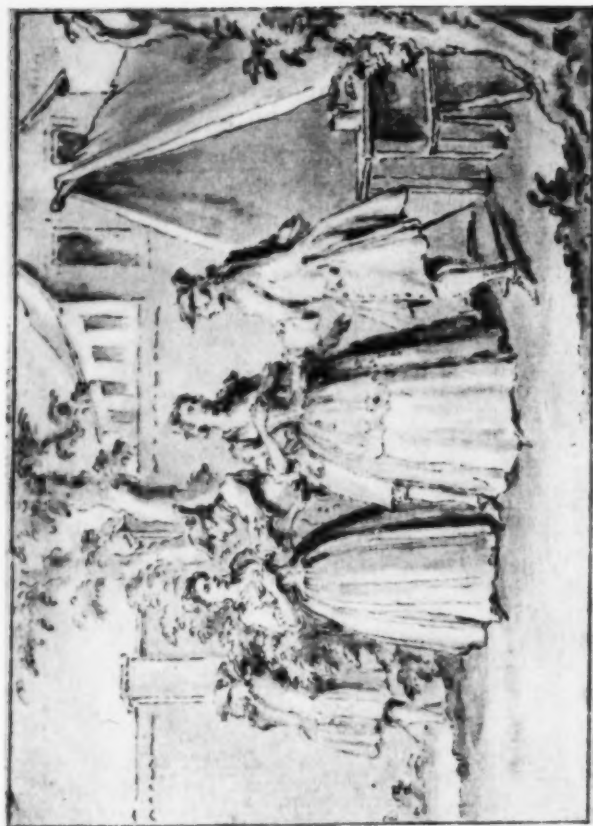


Fig. 2. GRAVELOT, Finished Drawing for *The Suspicious Fair*  
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

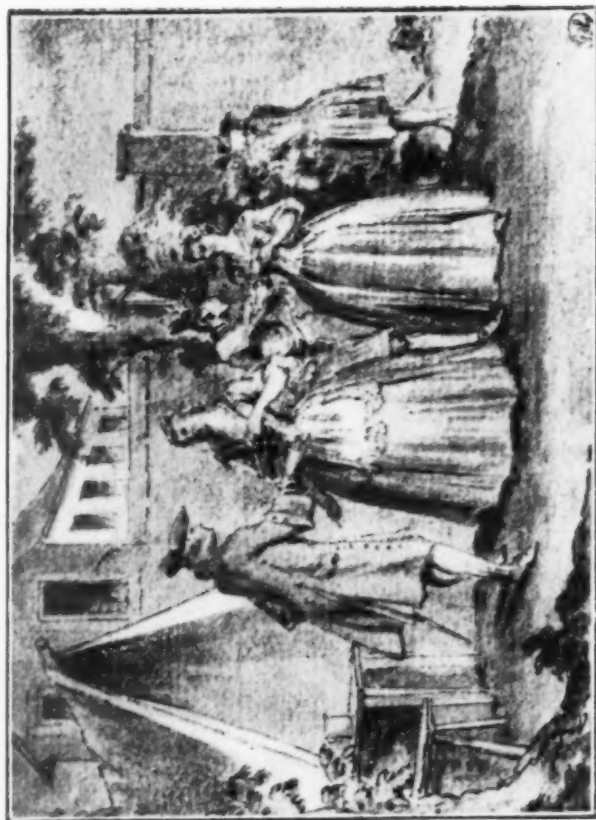


Fig. 3. ENGRAVING BY G. BICKHAM AFTER GRAVELOT,  
*The Suspicious Fair*  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 4. ENGRAVER'S DRAWING AFTER GRAVELOT, *The Suspicious Fair*

The contrast is best seen in the portraits of men by father and son—the pleasant, ingratiating amiability of one set of faces, the pleasant strength and temperament of the other. This contrast first suggested that the *William Tilghman* (Fig. 1) at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, attributed to Rembrandt Peale, must be the work of his father, a suggestion quickly corroborated by historical evidence. A portrait of Tilghman had been in the Peale's Museum gallery. The Historical Society and the American Philosophical Society possess marked catalogues of the sale of the gallery in 1854—one of them marked by Rembrandt Peale himself—in all of which the Museum *Tilghman* is attributed to "C.W.P." While the ownership of the painting has not been traced back to 1854, it is in the typical Museum frame and the standard Museum size. The distinctive frame, with its gilded oval mat, has never appeared on any other than Museum portraits. It was probably painted in 1806 when Tilghman, son of an early benefactor of Charles Willson Peale, became Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

Compare this to the *William Tilghman* (Fig. 2) of Rembrandt Peale, first shown at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1819. For an even closer comparison, look at the *Robert Fulton* (Fig. 3 and 4) of each painter, for these are closer contemporaries, the father's in 1807, the son's either in the same year, when he was with Fulton at New York, or, more probably, just following his subsequent trip to Europe. It is a contrast not only between two closely-allied painters but between Colonial placidity and that new Roman spirit of the young republic.

## DRAWINGS BY GRAVELOT FOR THE OPERA *FLORA*

By GEORGES DE BATZ

IN 1928 the French "expert" Lasquin sold in Paris his collection of drawings. Among them was a watercolor "by Gravelot" entitled: *Rendez-vous aux Porcherons*. Occasionally I saw its reproduction in auction catalogues without giving it much thought until recently, when its fetching title seemed to awaken some doubts in me. Within a few days I came across a drawing in the Morgan Library which is related to the *Porcherons* affair, though in reverse and without watercolor; a little later I found in the Print Room of the Metro-

politan Museum a sketch with the same subject and an exquisite little book in which the Morgan Library drawing is engraved.

The drawings in the Morgan Library and in the Metropolitan Museum are part of a series of illustrations for the "Songs in the Opera *Flora* with the humorous Scenes of Hob"<sup>1</sup> and, since the different versions of the *Porcherons* piece are nothing but an illustration of "The Suspicious Fair," a scene from the opera, it is obvious that Lasquin used his imagination to name his watercolor instead of trying to find its real title.

The comic opera *Flora* was the work of John Rich, the famous producer of the *Beggar's Opera*; it was performed at Covent Garden around 1730. A few years later Gravelot did twenty-four compositions after some of the scenes in *Flora*. They were engraved by G. Bickham and published in book form under the title already mentioned.

Eighteen of Gravelot's drawings are in New York. The ten finished pieces belong to the Morgan Library and the preparatory sketches are owned by the Metropolitan Museum. The four pieces here reproduced are: the preparatory sketch (Fig. 1); the finished drawing (Fig. 2); the engraving (Fig. 3); and the *Porcherons* watercolor (Fig. 4), the latter being a *dessin de graveur rehaussé*.

<sup>1</sup> The opera *Flora* was adapted from Thomas Doggell's "Country Wake," by Johnny Hippisley. The adaptor was a comedian. The book was sold in London by J. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster Row; and by George Bickham at his house in Bedford Bury, Covent Garden; the year it came out was 1737 but some of the *Flora* plates were used again for other purposes. For instance *The Suspicious Fair* appeared in Bickham's *British Monarchy* (1743) combined with plate 22. There is an interesting article on Gravelot's illustration drawings by Miss Alice Newlin in the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* for October, 1946.

## THE PORTRAITS OF THE TWO WIVES OF DANTON\*

By MICHEL BENISOVICH

THE object of this note is to present briefly the portraits of Danton's two wives: a bust by a little-known sculptor, Claude-André Deseine and an engraving after Louis-Léopold Boilly.

To begin with, let us consider Danton's first wife. Her name was Antoine-Gabrielle Charpentier and she was a Parisian; her father owned the café du Parnasse opposite the Palais de Justice at the corner of the Place and the Quai



de l'Ecole. When he married Antoine-Gabrielle the young lawyer moved from his apartment in the Rue des Mauvaises-Paroles to a larger one in a house of the Cour du Commerce, which he kept until his death. This marriage was ideal. Gabrielle's healthy, somewhat rustic, beauty aroused the future tribune's adoration for her, and she remained his faithful and constant companion until the end.

During Danton's mission in Belgium, on the eve of the popular vote to decide the future status of that country, Gabrielle died of a mysterious ailment, the cause of which has remained unknown. Jules Lecomte, Danton's biographer, becomes eloquent when he describes the scene upon the statesman's return to Paris, a scene as macabre as Renaissance Italy seen by Stendhal: "He had the coffin of his beloved opened and, to keep a material reminder of the dear face, had a cast made of it. As long as this painful undertaking lasted, he remained kneeling, panting and stammering words of endearment and sorrow."

The expert to whom the task of modeling the death-mask was entrusted was a deaf-mute sculptor, Claude-André Deseine (1740-1823). A pupil of Pajou, he exhibited in two Salons of revolutionary Paris after the privileges of the Royal Academicians had been abolished. Busts after death-masks seem to have been his specialty; he is known to have modeled Mirabeau's (Salon of 1791, plaster, in the Musée de Rennes); Marat's, which he was called upon to make the day after the assassination; Lepelletier de Saint Fargeau's (both in the Salon of 1793); and the bust of Antoine-Gabrielle Charpentier, Danton's first wife (Fig. 1). "Un buste portrait de la citoyenne Danton exhumée et moulée sept jours après sa mort," says the official *livret*.

This bust (terracotta; height 21 inches, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches including the marble base) represents a young woman whose features are those of a typical middle-class Parisian at the end of the eighteenth century. On the surface of the vertical cut of the left arm, below the shoulder one may read:

L'épouse de Danton  
Morte le 10 février  
exumé le 17 pour  
être moulé sur nature  
et modelé... par  
Deseine surde est  
Muet 1793 (Fig. 2)<sup>1</sup>

In the Musée de Troyes in Champagne (Danton's home province) there

is a plaster cast of the bust, the gift of Danton's greatniece. The Musée de Troyes exhibited it in Paris at the Exposition Universelle of 1900.

It is interesting to compare this with the portrait of the same citoyenne Danton by David, also in the Musée de Troyes (Fig. 3). Here we have an inspired and spirited interpretation of the model. Raymond Bouyer places David's portrait around the year 1790 and makes a masterly comparison between the painting and the sculpture.

Danton, as if foreseeing that he had not much longer to live, remained a widower only four months. He had two young children, his strength was declining, but he married a young girl of seventeen who, following a touching custom, had been designated as her successor by his first wife on her deathbed. Sébastienne-Louise Gély was the daughter of a sheriff at the tribunal. On the insistence of her parents, the union was blessed—*horribile dictu*—by a refractory priest. Boilly painted a miniature of Sébastienne-Louise which resulted in the painting that became so popular under the title *L'Optique* through Tresca's or Cazenave's engraving (Fig. 4).<sup>2</sup> Louise, standing beside an optical apparatus, seems to be demonstrating optics to the little Antoine Danton, who was three years old at that time, but here seems to be four or five years older. This was the period when Boilly tried to procure a certificate of loyalty for himself; who knows, perhaps this painting served him in better stead than the *Triumph of Marat*.

Louise's features are here those often adopted by Boilly: almond eyes, lightly snub nose, laughing mouth, doll-like face. She plays the role of a young mother perfectly. Does she pose at the painter's or in Danton's apartment?

Madame Danton, after Danton's execution, married an official named Dupin, who made a brilliant career under all the following regimes, becoming prefect and baron under the Empire. After his death, Louise Dupin lived almost thirty years longer, rich and honored, in Paris.

\* This article was translated from the French by Miss Liselotte Moser.

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of the cast of this bust in the Musée de Troyes, this inscription is cited with two variants in the *Catalogues des Sculptures du Musée de Troyes* as well as by L. Gonse in *Musées de France*, II, 104, and by Raymond Bouyer in "Un Portrait de la première femme de Danton par David," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, January, 1912, pp. 29-34.

<sup>2</sup> This painting was exhibited in the Salon of 1793. H. Harrissee catalogued it as being in the possession of Madame Armand Heine in Paris. In his article on the portrait of Gabrielle Charpentier by David, Bouyer, *op. cit.*, wrote: "We lack, above all, a portrait of this second Madame Danton." H. Harrissee, in his monograph on L. Boilly, which was published in 1898, had already identified the model of the paintings in Madame Heine's possession, thanks to an oval miniature representing her, signed by Boilly, and carrying an old inscription on the reverse: "Mademoiselle Gély, Danton's second wife." (Collection of Madame Achille Fould.)



Fig. 1. CLAUDE-ANDRÉ DESEINE,  
Antoine-Gabrielle Charpentier  
New York Art Market

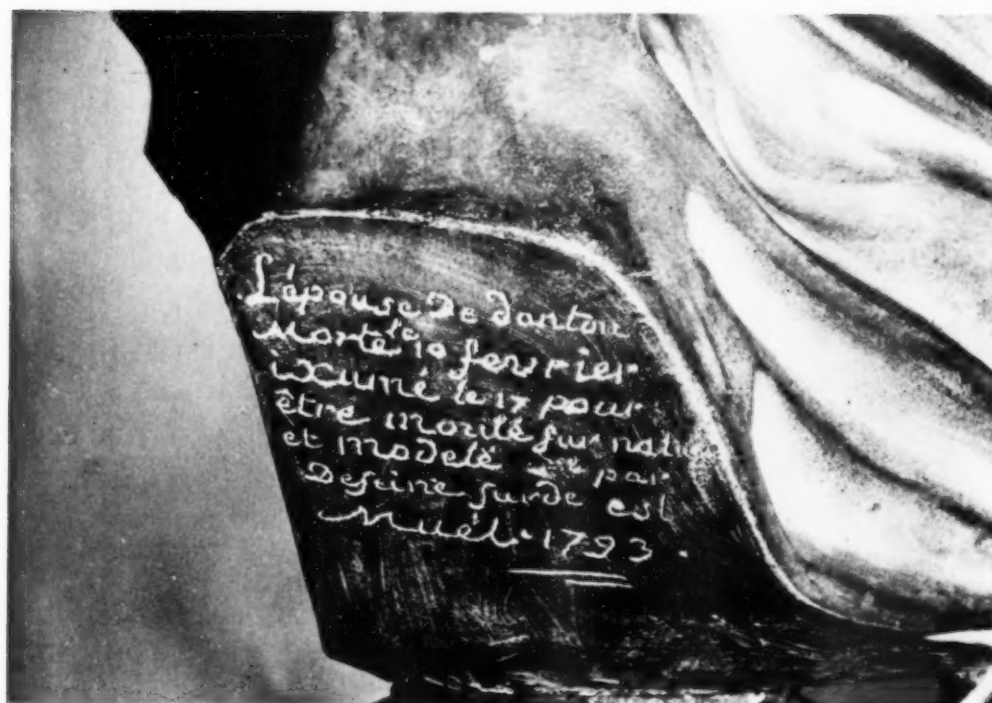


Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1



Fig. 3. JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID, *Antoine-Gabrielle Charpentier*  
Musée de Troyes



Fig. 4. LOUIS BOILLY, *Sébastienne-Louise Gély*  
(engraved by Cazenave)



RECENT IMPORTANT  
ACQUISITIONS  
OF AMERICAN AND  
CANADIAN COLLECTIONS



DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO, *Profile Portrait of a Young Woman*  
*Detroit Institute of Arts*

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## A PROFILE PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN BY DESIDERIO

From an article by E. P. Richardson in the *Bulletin* (Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, 1948) of The Detroit Institute of Arts.

A *Profile Portrait of a Young Woman* by Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464), given by Mrs. Edsel B. Ford in memory of her husband, brings into the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts one of the great Italian sculptures that have come to America.

Desiderio's importance as a sculptor comes from his pre-eminence in two things. He was one of the great representatives of the humanist spirit of the Florentine Renaissance, and he was one of the most remarkable and subtle masters of stone carving in the history of sculpture.

Sculpture is an art whose possibilities and expressive power are not widely felt today. But in the fifteenth century, with four hundred years of incessant activity behind it and a crowd of great living talents to support it, sculpture had reached a point of pre-eminence in the arts, so that sculptors overflowed in the neighboring arts and became leaders in architecture and painting, and all the arts were permeated with sculptural perceptions and interests. Early in the century Donatello had introduced into stone carving a great invention—his *stiacciato* or pictorial and extremely low relief—which Desiderio adopted and made his own. Desiderio's ease and control of the medium of stone made him delight in low relief, which he used with a combination of boldness and subtlety unsurpassed in the history of sculpture. He was able to make stone express the softness of a child's skin, of a silk dress, or flowing hair, to make it interpret the most delicate and evanescent changes of expression in an eye or a mouth; yet at the same time to keep the vigorous strength and character of his material. Grace, delicacy and power meet in remarkable combination in his art. In view of the extraordinary subtlety and finish of his work and the brevity of his life, it is not surprising that the list of his works is not a long one.

Marble was his usual medium but he worked occasionally in the dark Florentine stone called *pietra serena*, in which he left five famous reliefs: (1) the present *Profile Portrait*; (2) the young *St. John Baptist* in the National Museum, Florence, which was for a long time called a Donatello; (3) the *St. Cecilia*, once in the collection of the Earl of Wemyss, now in Toledo; (4) another profile portrait, rather similar to this but coarser in execution, formerly in the Berlin State Museum, present whereabouts unknown; (5) a fireplace carved with wonderful subtlety, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

This *Profile Portrait Head* is carved in rather high relief in a stone panel, twenty-one inches high by thirteen inches. It belonged once to a famous French collector, Baron Arthur de Schickler, before it was acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Ford. The expression of the head is one of grave repose; like, yet unlike, an ancient figure of Juno. She is a classical figure in her maturity and robust calm and in a certain classical generalization of type, yet each detail is delicately individualized in a way quite unclassical; while the face has a modesty and even a touch of sadness in the downcast look that give it an exquisite quality of mood.

As is well known, portraiture was revived by the Renaissance artists of Italy after an interval of almost a thousand years during which portraits in the modern sense were not known. Interest in portraiture went side by side with the study of classical art. The most common form of ancient portrait available for the Renaissance artist to study was the coin or medal, with an emperor's portrait in profile. The first form that portraiture took, therefore, was the sculptured relief.



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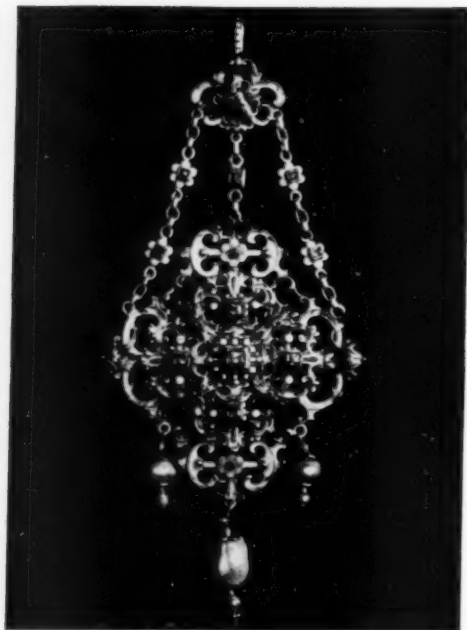
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*Renaissance Pendant*  
 University of Toronto  
 Hart House, Lee Coll.



HANS HILGERS, Siegburg Ware Jug with  
 English silver-gilt mountings  
 University of Toronto  
 Hart House, Lee Coll.



Desiderio, in creating here one of the masterpieces of Florentine portrait sculpture, was using a revived classical form and filling it with the classical reminiscences which the Florentine humanists loved. But humanism was more, in him, than an external imitation of classic forms. It was a renewal of an attitude toward life. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet, defined the classic spirit in his *Anima Poetae*: "Plain sense, measure, clearness, dignity, grace over all—these made the genius of Greece." In Desiderio's art the ancient qualities were brought to life again: humanity, balance, dignity, clearness, and grace—what are they but a description of this art?

The great Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt projected, ninety years ago, a series of philosophical and historical studies of Western culture from the age of Constantine to the Renaissance—of which the famous *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) was to be the closing chapter. "To conceive history as development is to conceive it as history of ideal values, the only ones that have real value," said Croce. Burckhardt saw the clear intelligence, the realism, individualism and love of life of the Florentines not only as qualities admirable in themselves but as the culmination of a historical development. In the twentieth century taste has turned away from the Renaissance. Art historians have turned their interest to more utilitarian or more mystical periods of art. It is surely not accidental that the reaction went furthest in Germany, where some historians tried to prove that Florentine art was a purely local development outside the main stream of European culture. In the United States there has been no such theoretical reaction but practically the change of taste has had the same effect of putting the Renaissance to one side. Burckhardt, on the contrary, saw in the Florentine humanists, artists and patrons alike, men who, living in the midst of political chaos as bad as that of the fifth century B.C. or the

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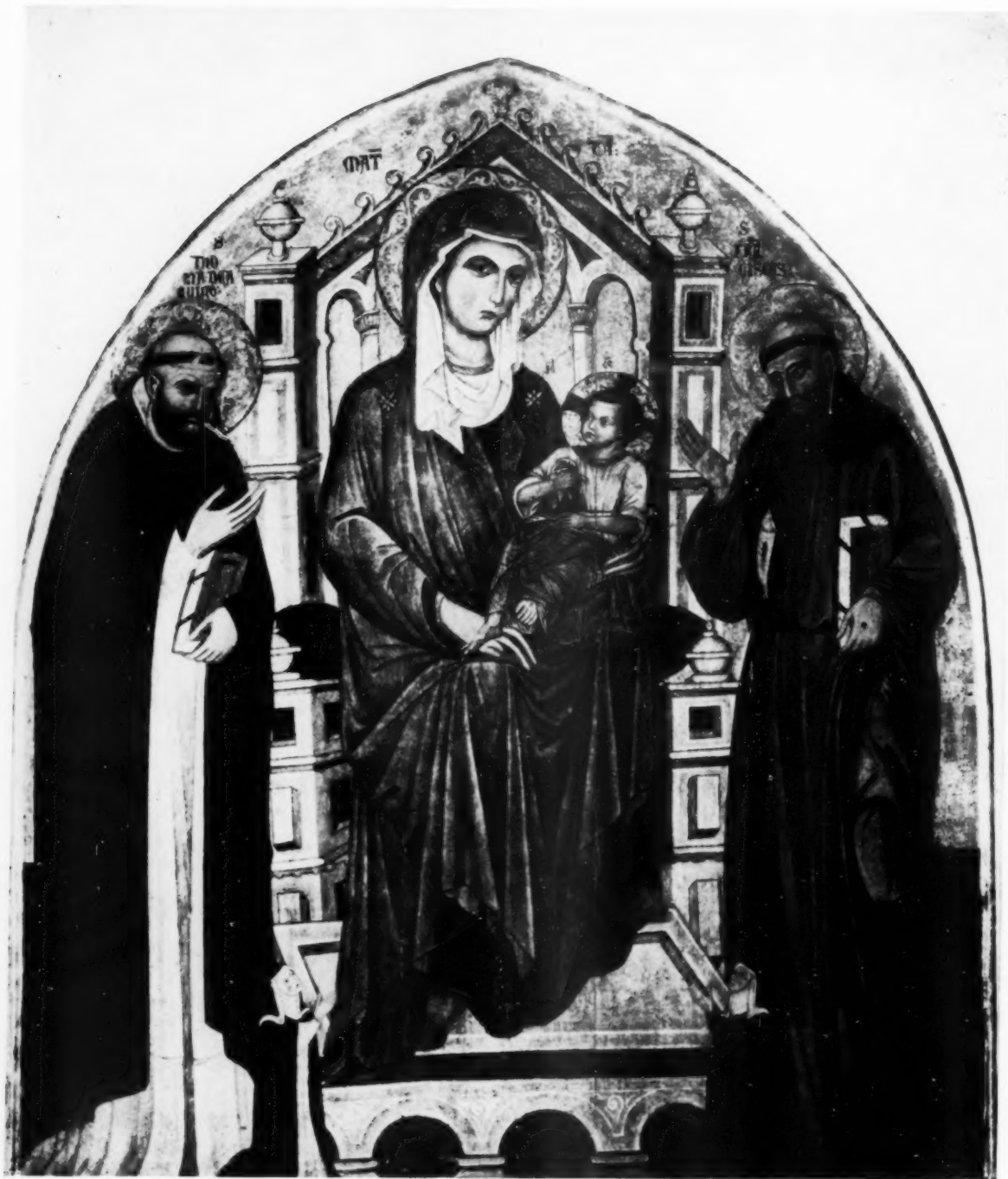
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ITALIAN, XIII CENTURY, *Enthroned Madonna*  
Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art

twentieth A.D., achieved a union of the rational humanism of the classic world with the Christian heritage of the middle ages, thus creating a new spirit which was not only the flowering of a historic process but the key to the destiny of the Western world. Desiderio is one of the artists who gave form to that new spirit.

It is appropriate that such a work should have been given to our museum in memory of Mr. Edsel B. Ford, for the outstanding quality that one remembers in him was his humanity. Everyone on the staff who had to do with him in the remotest or most official way remembers him with affection, not as an executive, or man of business, or a symbol of authority and power, but as a human being. He had a simplicity and warmth, a natural dignity and spontaneous courtesy toward everyone he had to deal with, which are the marks of that humane and civilized spirit which we call humanism. His own character was reflected in his taste in art.

#### THE LEE COLLECTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

By Yvonne Hackenbroch

The University of Toronto announces the opening of an important collection of works of art which has been presented by the late Viscount Lee of Fareham and Viscountess Lee. The collection is placed in Hart House, the cultural and recreational center for undergraduates and senior members of the University of Toronto.

The Lee Collection consists principally of medieval and

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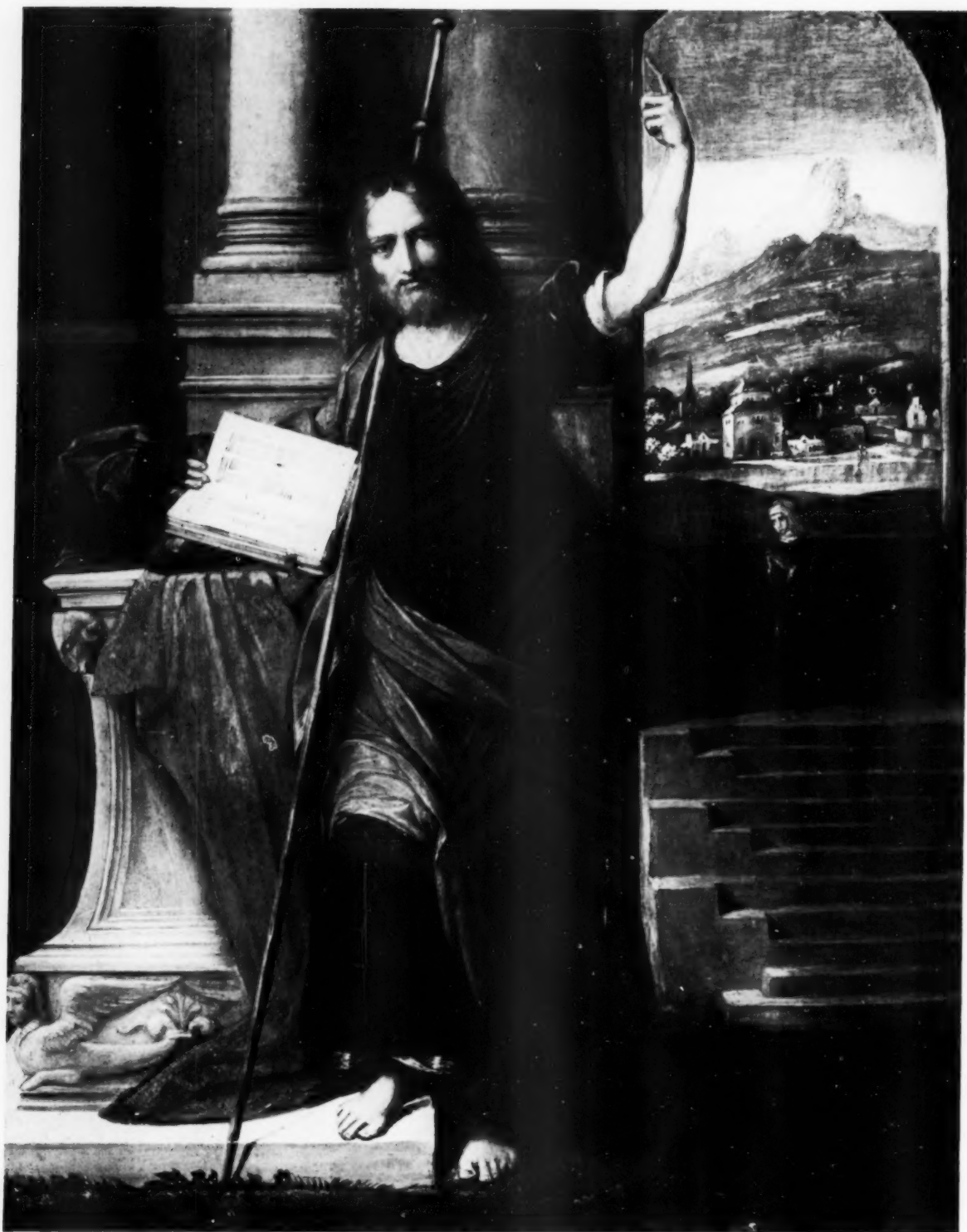


Jane and James Peale, Jr. by James Peale (1749-1831)

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Renaissance metal work, jewelry and manuscripts and was formed over a long period of years by its original owners in England. Among the earliest exhibits is a rare Chinese bronze vessel, made during the Shang-Yin period (1766-1122 B.C.). It is of the Chih type with an owl as the decorative motif. Two other sacrificial bronzes of the late Chou period invite comparison with the outstanding Chinese art collection at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.

The medieval works of art include an English fourteenth century drinking-horn. This natural ox-horn stands on two silver-gilt bird legs joined by engraved bands which end whimsically in a monster's head. A high-footed covered coconut-cup in silver-gilt mounting which closely resembles a smaller coconut-cup at Oriel College, Oxford, and the "Cup of the Three Kings" at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, was made in fifteenth century England.

The most colorful showcase in the Lee Collection contains Limoges enamels: a thirteenth century *chasse* of known type, a small fragmentary plaque in *émail brun* with the representation of the crowning of the Virgin, and two fifteenth century painted enamels of great beauty. The roundel with Virgin and Child follows the style of the Master of Flémalle. The original painting is lost but known through workshop repetitions such as the panel in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia. Ivories and manuscripts in Hart House show the versatility and refinement of Gothic art.

Some domestic silver of the fifteenth century provides, in its Gothic restraint, an excellent contrast to the elaborate productions of the Renaissance, such as a historically interesting Nuremberg coconut-cup. This fine cup has silver-gilt settings which include portraits of Charles V and other royal personages, and may well have been a presentation by the Emperor on the

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Canvas 23 x 28" Rembrandt Peale

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occasion of the crowning of his brother Ferdinand as German king in 1530; at least that is the date engraved on the shield of a figure on the cover of the cup.

The silver-gilt setting with Tudor-rose decoration which encloses an imported Chinese Ming porcelain box speaks the language of a seafaring generation and fits well in the Elizabeth period. Although without hallmark, the workmanship and the style of the mounts, and their ingenious application, place the blue and white porcelain box at Hart House next to the magnificent group of Chinese porcelains in English silver-gilt mounts of about 1580, which was once in the possession of Lord Burghley and is now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York. A small bowl of Ming porcelain in the Franks Bequest at the British Museum gives another example with Tudor-rose pattern on the silver setting.

Imported porcelain remained the privilege of the few who could afford luxuries but pottery came within the reach of all. Elizabethan "Tigerware" jugs are well represented in the Lee Collection. Of particular interest is a Rhenish "Siegburg ware" jug which the German potter Hans Hilgers signed H. H. and dated 1589. It so happens that the English goldsmith who supplied the silver-gilt lid, the thumb-piece and the rims round neck, foot and spout, stamped them with his master's mark: three trefoils voided within a shaped shield, and that this mark identifies this otherwise anonymous goldsmith with the one who mounted the group of Chinese porcelains from Burghley House at the Metropolitan Museum.

The jewelry of the Renaissance period follows such designs as painter-engravers published in patternbooks. Small allegorical figures like Venus and Cupid on a pendant in Hart House often set the theme. A certain Holbeinesque influence can be felt in some purely ornamental rings of this period in

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the Lee Collection whereas many of the later rings have a sentimental motif such as the Memento Mori and Memorial Rings enclosing locks of hair or miniature portraits.

Characteristic of eighteenth century habits is a beautiful silver-gilt toilet service of many pieces, all fitted into a traveling case of red leather. The set was made by Johann Erhard Heuglin II of Augsburg in 1735/36.

Snuff-boxes from England, France and Germany show combinations of gold with Bristol glass, agate, bloodstone and precious stones. Most pleasing in its restrained simplicity is an oval box of three-colored gold, made by Ambroise Nicolas Cousinet of Paris in 1773/74, this box being the latest object in a collection containing examples of the work of most periods of our civilization.

### AN ITALIAN 13TH CENTURY ENTHRONED MADONNA

From an article in the November, 1947, *Gallery News* of  
The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art.

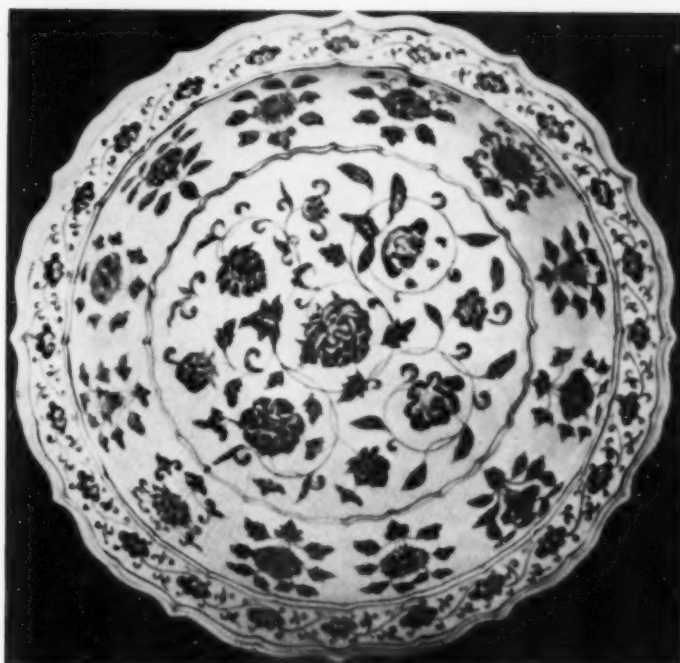
Perhaps the rarest paintings in the entire field of Italian art are those of the thirteenth century, of the period before the humanizing innovations of Cimabue and Giotto, panels in which we find still a strong Byzantine influence. There are very few in American museums. The acquisition of an example of this date is of major importance and the Gallery is justly proud of a recently acquired monumental Altarpiece of the last years of the thirteenth century: *The Enthroned Madonna and Child Between St. Francis and St. Thomas Aquinas*, extraordinary in state of preservation.

## Contemporary American Art and American Art of the 19th Century

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It is impossible to identify the unknown painter who produced this great masterpiece but it would seem to have a Southern Italy provenance. Because of its size, it must have been destined for the main altar of an important church. One's first impression is of the opulence and magnificence of the rich and brilliant colors, the sheen of the gold ground. Few paintings of the period are as breath-taking. The figure of the Madonna is overwhelming in its imposing monumentality, augmented by the scarlet of her mantle, the brighter red of the lining as it contrasts with the white wimple and the dark green robe. The ingratiating Christ Child wears a white robe and a gold-hatched rose mantle, a hold-over of the Byzantine formula of drapery.

It is especially significant, in the light of their humanizing teachings, that the Madonna should be flanked by St. Francis, identified by the brown robe and the signs of the stigmata, and by St. Thomas Aquinas in the black and white habit of the Dominican Order. Their exaggerated attenuation is in the true Gothic tradition. There is a beginning of the human relationship between the Mother and Child, as her right hand touches His extended left foot.

The throne is a transitional type and is represented as carried out in marble, in shades of cream and brown with a pale green platform. Especially interesting at this early date is the inclusion of two donor Nuns in a much reduced scale.

Inspiring and monumental, the Altarpiece fills a long felt need in the permanent collection as an introduction to Italian painting.

**THE ST. JAMES BY GAROFALO IN THE  
LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM**

By W. R. Valentiner

No museum collection of Italian Renaissance painting is complete without a representation of the school of Ferrara, which produced such outstanding masters as Cossa, Tura and Ercole Roberti in the fifteenth, Garofalo, Dosso Dossi and Ortolano in the sixteenth century. The famous seat of the art-loving d'Estes became a center of culture in the Emilia and Romagna, whence its influence spread not only to the Parma of Correggio and the Bologna of Francia, but even to the Umbria of the young Raphael. The impulses which Raphael received from them in his early days were later repaid by him when, in Rome of the High Renaissance, he became a fountain of inspiration to many North Italian painters.

One especially among the three leading Ferrarese artists of this period was receptive to his influence—Garofalo, who for this reason has been termed the Raphael of the Ferrarese school. Such a comparison, however, should not detract from the originality of Garofalo's style which, particularly in the color scheme of prevailing reds and greens, is based upon Ferrarese tradition; yet it points to a similarity of temperament which inclined towards a rather cold and calculated constructionism and a strong linear and plastic conception. Very different was the style of the other great Ferrarese master of this time, the romantic and fantastic Dosso, whose pictorial tendency was close to the Venetian and who has been compared to Giorgione.

The name "Il Garofalo," meaning "carnation," is derived from a small place near Ferrara, Garofalo, the original home of the family of the artist's father, Pietro Tisi. Our painter, Benvenuto Tisi, used his nickname symbolically in his work, by placing, at times, a carnation in the hands of religious figures. Born in 1481, two years before Raphael, he developed slowly, being instructed in his art first by local Ferrarese painters and



influenced by Costa at Mantua until he came to Rome at an unknown date (possibly about 1514). According to Vasari who knew him personally, Garofalo, upon seeing the works of Michelangelo and Raphael, cursed his Lombardian manner and set about to work afresh. He became an intimate friend of Raphael and, after the master's death, of his follower Giulio Romano. While not altering his Ferrarese character in type and color, Garofalo developed his design according to the grand style of the Roman manner, with monumental gestures, *contrapposto* and High Renaissance architectural background.

We find these elements characteristically combined in the *St. James* (panel, 15½ by 20 inches) which the Los Angeles County museum recently acquired as a generous gift from the Misses Anne and Amy Putnam of San Diego. While the saint's face is as much reminiscent of Correggio as of Raphael, his pose with the outstretched left arm, the forefinger pointing prophetically to heaven, is well known from several compositions of Raphael, such as the *Sibyls* in S. Maria della Pace, Rome; the *Madonna della Impannata* in the Pitti Palace; and the *St. John the Baptist* in the Louvre—all executed at a time when Garofalo worked in Rome. This gesture was not original with Raphael, who had appropriated it from Leonardo de Vinci. Roman in style also are the High Renaissance pillars and moldings against which the figure of the saint leans, and the antique Roman altar upon which he has placed the open Bible, naïvely juxtaposing classical and Christian motifs, as was common to the masters of the Renaissance. The finely executed drapery radiating from the altar, enveloping the figure in all directions and enhancing its volume, illustrates one of Garofalo's finest qualities, his excellent draughtsmanship. The precision of parallel lines with which the drapery is designed has something of the character of Ingres, who is known to have been fond of paintings of the High Renaissance, particularly those of Raphael's followers.

A curious contrast to the monumental figure of the saint is found in the minute medieval form of a kneeling abbess, whose convent is visible in the charming landscape seen through the window. We learn from Vasari that Garofalo had made it a custom to paint in the monastery of the Nuns of S. Bernardino in Ferrara on every feast-day, and that he worked "for the love of God" on these occasions with the same care and diligence that characterized his other productions. We are probably not mistaken if we recognize in the tiny donor one of the Nuns from this convent. Unfortunately, however, the convent having been destroyed in 1823, it is not possible to identify it with the edifice in the background of our painting.

This painting of *St. James the Greater* belongs to the group of small compositions by Garofalo which are rightly judged as possessing greater charm than his large and rather repetitious altarpieces with which the churches of Ferrara were filled. It must have been executed between 1520 and 1540, that is, after his journey to Rome but before his last declining period which was the result of failing eyesight. (B. Berenson in his list of paintings of the artist gives the date 1538 but no date can be found on the painting.) He became blind in 1550, and died nine years later. The painting, formerly in Lord Northbrook's collection, has been described in the list of Garofalo's paintings by E. G. Gardner (*Painters of the School of Ferrara*, New York, 1911, p. 239); by A. Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, 1929, IX, part IV, 318); and by B. Berenson (*North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 1927, p. 226).



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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

P. A. LEMOISNE, *Degas, Sa Vie et son Œuvre*. Paris, Paul Brame  
and C. M. de Hauke, 1947. (3 vols. published)

Only the first three volumes of this magnificent new *Degas* are before us—one volume of text and two of illustrations, the latter forming a *catalogue raisonné* of the master's paintings and pastels. Still to be published are the Index and the *catalogues raisonnés* of the drawings, bronzes and prints; yet we may predict that the completed work will be the definitive *Degas*.

It is impossible to give here a detailed review of such a patient masterpiece of scholarship; this note is intended principally to draw attention to what will evidently be M. Lemoisne's *magnum opus*. The most lasting impression that the book will make upon its readers will probably be a feeling of its absolute completeness. All the famous anecdotes about the man who said to Alexis Rouart "Je voudrais être illustre et inconnu" are here, of course; but numberless little-known or unknown details, many of them of great interest or importance, take away the feeling of *déjà vu* that is so common in such works. New documents are introduced on almost every page, from the birth certificate of Degas' grandfather (René Hilaire Degast, born in Orléans in 1770), Degas' marks at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand and the exact dates of his visits to the Cabinet des Estampes, to the valuable letters written to Degas by his father and the long quotations from the Degas Note Books in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Particularly interesting, if not absolutely new, are the descriptions of Degas' sojourn in New Orleans, where the middle-aged bachelor found "une sorte de tendresse à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," and of his life in the Mont-

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## The Journal of Aesthetics & Art Criticism

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martre studio, with the Ingres portraits standing on easels in a semi-circle and the Manets hanging in his bedroom.

A number of favorable or venomous articles on Degas are reproduced *in extenso*; one of the latter, written by Albert Wolff in *Le Figaro* (1879), includes the wonderful comment on the Impressionists: "La fécondité de ces peintres nous dit assez combien ils se contentent de peu." But M. Lemoisne's *Degas* is more than an assemblage of facts or documents. It is also an objective appraisal, by a friend who knew him well, of a human being who was a great painter. There are beautiful, strangely unsentimental pages on the lonely artist who wanted "la vieillesse de Corot" and died blind and almost friendless. More important still are Lemoisne's comments on Degas' *œuvre*. For the first time it seems, one can obtain a clear idea of the painter's development, to which the author gives a sort of logic, and of "les hésitations de sa personnalité." Even the hackneyed question of Degas' *mise en page* and the related problem of the Japanese influence, for instance, take on a new aspect, while the few paragraphs given to the role of spontaneity in Degas' works can be considered definitive.

Several appendices add to the value of M. Lemoisne's *Degas*. The artist's Parnassian sonnets, which do not help his reputation, are reproduced in full. A complete iconography of Degas precedes very extensive notes and reproductions of documents. A "Bibliographie sommaire," somewhat less valuable, it seems, than the other sections of the *Degas*, since it includes few articles or books published since 1940, concludes the first volume. There are very few misprints, although the names of Philip Hendy (p. 107) and Lionello Venturi (p. 278) are misspelled. In fact, the physical make-up of the three volumes is excellent, even to the extent that all illustrations mentioned in the text face the page on which they are described—almost an innovation in French books.

The two volumes which form the *catalogue raisonné* of Degas' paintings and pastels are invaluable. Almost fifteen hundred works are illustrated and described, of which only two (in American private collections) seem doubtful. Such a catalogue, listing paintings which in a large part are still owned by private collectors or dealers, will inevitably require sheets of addenda or errata every few years. Therefore the following comments, although made almost at random, may be useful:

No. 44—is, or was, in Mrs. A. Chester Beatty's collection (see *Burlington Magazine*, I (1938), 258).

No. 206—listed as being in the Chester Dale collection, was recently acquired by the Minneapolis Museum.

No. 271—(measurements obviously wrong) is in the Chester Dale collection, National Gallery, Washington, D. C.

No. 307—was sold at Parke-Bernet's, March 16, 1944; lent to the Cleveland exhibition (1947) by Jacques Seligmann and Company. The catalogue of that exhibition, as well as the catalogue of the Philadelphia exhibition (1936), both of them excellent, should in fact supplement the Lemoisne *catalogue raisonné* for Degas' works in the United States.

No. 313—(Mrs. William Bell) is called *Madame René du Gas* in the Chester Dale catalogue.

No. 352—now in an American private collection.

No. 357—is in the Phillips Memorial Gallery.

No. 376—is in the Phillips Memorial Gallery.

No. 442—could this portrait, tentatively identified as *Mlle. Malo*, possibly be a sketch for an abandoned portrait of *Mme. Jeantand*?

No. 501—was sold at Parke-Bernet's, March 16, 1944, as the property of a private collector.

No. 675—according to the catalogue of the same sale, was not only in the Trévis collection but also in that of Duc de la Monnaie du Fief.

No. 767—sold in the Museum of Modern Art sale in 1944. It is now in a private Detroit collection.

*Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet*, No. 1. Paris, 1948.

The first issue of this *Bulletin* has just been received from Paris. Apparently based in format, style and purpose upon American museum bulletins, its articles are written with Gallic charm and clarity. The most important of these short studies are by François Boucher, who describes briefly the David-Weill gifts to Carnavalet (paintings and drawings relative to Paris) and by Jacques Wilhelm, whose scholarly comments on sketches for lost paintings by Noël Coypel, De Troy(?), Deshayes and Vien will be of permanent value. The illustrations are delightful; they include reproductions of the sketches mentioned above, with the Deshayes looking like a Boucher for once influenced by Fragonard, a *View of Paris*, which confirms our very *démodé* belief that Théodore Rousseau is a great painter, and a Gabriel de Saint-Aubin pen drawing which embodies all that made life delightful in Paris in the Grand Siècle—the eighteenth century of course. Two other articles should be mentioned. One concerns the new arrangement of the French Revolution galleries, which are extremely rich in works of art; the other is a description of the accession card system used in the museum.

*Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin*, No. 1. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum of Art, 1948. \$2.00.

In May of this year a surprisingly large number of authorities on Far Eastern ceramic art met in Cambridge to organize an American society of ceramicists along the lines of the famed English Ceramic Society. The immediate result of the meeting was a mimeographed pamphlet, the first issue of a bi-monthly publication. This *Bulletin*, the editors of *The Art Quarterly* believe, deserves to be widely known, not only for its actual value, which is great, but even more on account of its potential importance. The issue at hand, which is not illustrated, includes useful articles on "Peach Bloom Glaze" (S. Junkunc III), "Two Chun Type Sherds" (n.a.) and "A Note on Late Chou Black-Ware" (S. M. Kaplan). These articles, which have two welcome characteristics in common—they are mature and without pedantry—argue well for the future of the Society. In a short "manifesto," the editor, G. L. Lee of the Fogg Museum, expresses the hope that the *Bulletin* will serve as "coördinator of ideas" in the field and that it should be judged "as much by the questions raised as by the problems solved"; that is still the only realistic approach to these problems.

*Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, No. 1. Paris, 1947. 75 pp. of text and illustrations.

What first attracts the reader of this new publication is the pleasing quality the French call a "belle tenue littéraire." But this *Cabier* has more than the charm of its style to recommend it. Made up of articles written by some of the French and English authorities on Poussin, such as René Huyghe, Jean Adhémar and Mlle. Thérèse Bertin-Mouroit (the latter being also the editor of the *Cabier*), it adds important, and in a number of cases new, elements to the study of "Poussin and his Times." Anthony Blunt's article on the London National Gallery *Annunciation* is an excellent example of British scholarship; René Huyghe's "Poussin hors de ses limites," with its illuminating paradoxes and the subtlety of its comments, is a typical product of the Paul Jamot school. A list of the other articles may help to explain the *raison d'être* of the *Cabiers*. In addition to those mentioned above they are: "La signification religieuse de l'*Annonciation* de Poussin," by Fr. Regamey; "L'An mil six cent cinquante huit," by Pierre du Colombier; "L'Amour courtois de l'Islam



dans la *Gerusalemme liberata*," by Louis Massignon; "Les auto-portraits de Poussin," by Bernard Dorival. The articles are not concerned with Poussin only but also with his contemporaries, which is an excellent sign; for instance there is a short article by R. A. Weigert on "Deux marchés inédits pour le tombeau de Richelieu." There is also an extremely valuable section on "Notes and Documents," written by Mlle Bertin-Mouroit, as well as a bibliography of the studies published in English about Poussin since the war.

*Kunstchronik*, parts 1-2, 3. Nuremberg, 1948.

The first three issues of this *Kunstchronik* are welcome additions to museum literature, since they are concrete proof that the German museums are reorganizing fast. These small pamphlets include little more than lists of the staffs of the different German museums, brief descriptions of their activities in 1947 and still shorter lists of acquisitions. The section on bibliography, listing the books on art and the catalogues of exhibitions published in Germany in 1946-47, is also extremely valuable. Publishing these three *Bulletins* in the first few months of this year is a sort of *gewaltstreich* for which the curators concerned must be congratulated.

*National Art-Collections Fund: Forty-fourth Annual Report*. London, 1947.

It is always with a great deal of interest that this reviewer reads the Annual Reports of the National Art-Collections Fund. Not only do the speeches made at the general meetings of the Association (published *in extenso*) remind us of a delightfully urbane world in which things moved leisurely and with Victorian dignity, but the list of acquisitions of works of art secured for the British Nation by the Fund is usually formed of objects little-known in the United States. Those acquired by the Fund in 1947 could well make American curators envious. They run from extremely important works such as the Ingres drawing (a *Portrait Group* with three figures, published in the *Burlington* in 1939) to the Nelson relic of a toothpick case inscribed: "Home Sweet Home." Every work of art purchased by the Fund

deserves mention. My favorites this year are: a large (54 by 94 inches) painting by Francis Hayman, *The Milkmaid's Garland or Humours of May Day*, a drawing by Edward Calvert, *The Primitive City*, dated 1822, and the Archaic Greek or Etruscan silver circular relief of a Gorgon's Head.

*Early Netherlandish School Plates*. London, National Gallery, 1947. 25 shillings.

One might very well agree that a volume such as this represents the most important service to scholarship that a museum can offer. It presents a complete record of the National Gallery's pictures of this school, in large (the page size is 12 by 16 inches), clear reproductions from the gallery's excellent photographs, at a very moderate price. The plates are as handsome as they are useful. Every painting in the 1946 catalogue of the Early Netherlandish School is included, as well as two paintings acquired since: no. 5577, ascribed to Jan van Hemessen, and no. 5470, a *Holy Family*, described as after the Master of the Death of the Virgin. The extraordinary high level of quality of the National Gallery paintings makes it a most important collection to know well. A careful study of these plates, in conjunction with the 1946 catalogue, is recommended to American students as both a pleasant and a very profitable investment of his time.

*Handbook of the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts*. A Pictorial survey of the collections, the exhibitions and the educational and other activities. Springfield, Mass., 1948.

The Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, founded in 1933, is one of the youngest of the New England museums, but its growth has been rapid and the collection now offers a survey of Western art from the middle ages to the present, as well as two galleries of Chinese art. The strongest sections are the Dutch XVII century, the French XVIII and XIX and the American XIX-XX centuries. This handbook serves as a useful survey of the collection for the student. Among the painters represented by important works are Tiepolo, Bellotto, Canaletto, De Witte, Ruisdael, Bol, Van Goyen, Liotard, David, Chardin, Millet, Corot, Degas, Géricault, Winslow Homer.



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